# The Journal

OF

# PHILOLOGY.

*EDITED BY*

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INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.

AND

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VOL. XXVI.

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.

Cambridge: MACMILLAN AND BOWES.

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.

1899

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https://archive.org/details/journal-of-philology_1899_26_51-52

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THE JOURNAL
OF
PHILOLOGY.

# THE STRONG HEPHTHEMIMERAL PAUSE IN LATIN HEXAMETER POETRY.

GREAT progress has been made during the last half-century in the study of the metrical and rhythmical phenomena exhibited by the Greek and Latin poets. I do not here propose to add one more to the list of these inquiries, but to record the results of a study of the Latin hexameter poets made from a point of view rather rhetorical than rhythmical. In the course of this exposition I wish to make some inquiry into the causes by which the effects here noted may have been produced. Evidence will have to be produced in a statistical form, and to do this satisfactorily is most difficult. Observations such as those I have been making are peculiarly liable to be vitiated by 'subjectivity'. Of this I am well aware, and I have done my best to set forth trustworthy details, as is more fully explained below. Two general precautions are necessary. The observer must be ever on his guard against a readiness to admit evidence favourable to conclusions already half seen by anticipation: and the materials when collected must not be strained as evidence. I can only say that I have striven to observe these precautions, and that I shall not infer anything from the exact relations of various percentages.

Varieties of caesura affect the hexameter as a metrical unit: marked pauses and breaks of sense affect it as a rhetorical instrument. This is above all true in Latin, to the spondaic cadences of which it was no easy task to adapt a metre borrowed from the dactylic Greek. The case of Cicero's hexameters is enough to shew that every device was needed to get rid of an ever-threatening monotony. Lucretius and Catullus did not solve the problem, but the solution was attained in due course by the patient genius of Vergil. And in no department of the composer's art was Vergil more successful than in the skilful variation of the marked pauses of sense at various points in a series of lines. The lines left unfinished in the Aeneid are alone sufficient evidence of his practice. When, on reaching a certain point in a line, the thought is expressed and fitted with a sympathetic pause at that point, there he halts. Second thoughts, later inspiration, may shew him a way to complete the metre without damage to the poetry. For the present he does not expand[1] and perhaps spoil that which has so far reached its end, but starts afresh with a new line. So unwilling was he to lose the help given to chosen language by the rhythmic effect of suitable pauses. In other words, he makes the power of the verse minister to the power of the language: of the two, the latter is to be dominant.

The happy breaking of the line in Vergil's method was a revelation to writers of Latin heroic verse. That the striking pauses common in the Greek hexameter

(δ 251)

καί μιν ἀνειρώτων· ὁ δὲ κερδοσύνῃ ἀλέεινεν.

(ζ 276—7)

τίς δ' ὅδε Ναυσικάᾳ ἕπεται καλός τε μέγας τε
ξεῖνος; ποῦ δέ μιν εὗρε; πόσις νύ οἱ ἔσσεται αὐτῇ.

(ι 21—2)

ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι

[1] I am counting Aen v 595 *luduntque per undas* as genuine, but not certain. It is interesting to see that Juvenal in XIV 316 does without the otiose ending of x 366.

would not suffice, had doubtless been already found out. The penthemimeral pause played a great part in Latin verse, but it had its weak points, as we shall see. The 'bucolic' pause after the fourth foot could not be used very freely; for its effect is easily spoilt by near repetition, and—the pause at a fourth spondee being shunned as ugly—it made too great a demand on a limited stock of dactyls. A pause after the first foot required that in Latin that foot should be almost always a dactyl. For if a Latin poet began with a spondee and a pause, he could not follow it up with anything equivalent to the dancing dactyls of Homer. There remains the pause at a female division in the third foot, known as the 'third trochee'. How effective this was in Greek was clearly seen by Vergil, who strove in vain to transplant it into Latin. Witness such lines as these from the Aeneid:

I 290 accipies secura: uocabitur hic quoque uotis.
[v 832[1] una ardua torquent
cornua detorquentque: ferunt sua flamina classem.]
XI 476 matronae puerique: uocat labor ultimus omnis.

These have the fourth foot a dactyl. The other cases where the pause is sufficiently marked to be worth reckoning have a spondee in the fourth place, as

I 257 parce metu, Cytherea: manent immota tuorum
II 48 aut aliquis latet error: equo ne credite, Teucri:
668 arma, uiri, ferte arma: uocat lux ultima uictos.
IV 164 tecta metu petiere: ruunt de montibus amnes.
417 undique conuenere: uocat iam carbasus auras,
604 quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem
IX 732 horrendum sonuere: tremunt in uertice cristae

Once the dactyl is achieved by elision

VI 131 dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia siluae.

Other instances may be found where the pause is much weaker, and the connexion of sense is spoilt by dwelling on the break. Such are VII 466, X 103, and (I incline to think)

XI 309
ponite. spes sibi quisque, sed haec quam angusta uidetis.

[1] A very doubtful instance; see below p. 6.

In any case the number of these pauses is few even in Vergil: they are very feeble compared with those in Homer, and bear too clearly the mark of conscious effort. This pause was indeed too tender for the heavy Latin tongue, lacking the light diphthongs and dainty particles of the Greek. Accordingly in the later writers it tended to die away.

It is not necessary to say more as to pauses at other points in the Latin hexameter. The two normal *caesurae* are the penthemimeral and hephthemimeral, of which the former is far the more frequent. Accordingly at the penthemimeral caesura occurs what is probably the most frequent of all:

1 26 exciderant animo: manet alta mente repostum
56 circum claustra fremunt: celsa sedet Aeolus arce
139 sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa.

This is also common in Greek. But at the other point, where the hephthemimeral caesura falls, we find a pause which was never common in Greek, and the history of which is wholly different in the two languages. It is not too much to say that one of the most notable differences in the rhetorical movement of the Greek and Latin hexameter poems is to be found in the different histories of the hephthemimeral pause.

The following is a table of the occurrence of this pause in Greek writers so far as I have observed.

| Name of author, work, &c. | No of lines | hephthl pauses | % | form A | form B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Iliad | 15693 | 58 | 0·369 | 29 | 29 |
| Odyssey | 12110 | 47 | 0·388 | 26 | 21 |
| Hesiod, *ἔργα* | 828 | 6 | 0·7 | 4 | 2 |
| *θεογονία* | 1022 | 2 | 0·19 | 0 | 2 |
| *ἀσπίς* | 480 | 3 | 0·6 | 3 | 0 |
| Homeric hymns | 2020 | 9 | 0·445 | 4 | 5 |
| Theocritus | 2597 | 22 | 0·846 | 7 | 15 |
| Callimachus | 939 | ? 1 | | 0 | ? 1 |
| Apollonius Rhodius | 5835 | 25 | 0·428 | 7 | 18 |
| Aratus | 1154 | ? 12 | 1·039 | ? 7 | 5 |
| Nicander | 1588 | 1 | | 0 | 1 |
| Oppian *κυνηγετικά* | 2144 | 7 | | 3 | 4 |
| *ἁλιευτικά*, 2 out of 5 books | 1485 | 0 | | 0 | 0 |
| Quintus Smyrnaeus, 8 out of 14 books | 5584 | ? 25 | 0·448 | ? 1 | 24 |
| Tryphiodorus, *ἅλωσις* | 691 | ? 2 | | ? 2 | 0 |
| Coluthus, rape of Helen | 390 | 0 | | 0 | 0 |
| Musaeus, Hero and Leander | 341 | 0 | | 0 | 0 |
| Nonnus, *Διονυσιακά*, 4 out of 48 books | 1718 | 0 | | 0 | 0 |

The only thing worth noticing in this table is the extreme rarity of this pause in the Greek hexameter. By the time of Oppian [? 2nd century AD], it was well established in Latin: in Greek its always feeble existence was coming to an end. The two opposite tendencies agree in being morbid symptoms. I have given the separate numbers of the two forms[1] of the pause; but in Greek this has no significance, as the Greek pentameter-ending shews.

That there are plenty of pauses in the best Greek hexameters every reader knows. It may be interesting to record the numbers of the chief pauses that I find in the Odyssey

| Pause | total | % | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Penthemimeral | 435 | 3·59 | |
| 4th dactyl (bucolic) | 337 | 2·78 | 12 of these are spondaic |
| 3rd trochee | 295 | 2·4 | |

I have made no full enumerations for later writers, but I feel certain from observation that the third trochee pause tends to increase on the whole, till in Nonnus it rivals the bucolic, and the two together are completely dominant. The rhythm of the later writers seems based on the third trochee as a normal appliance. But the prevalent pause that strikes a reader most in the later writers generally is that at the 4th dactyl (bucolic). A good case is Apollonius Rhodius: in the first book of the Argonautica (1362 lines) I counted 107 of these [2 spondaic], or 7·7%. I have perhaps said too much on these points: but the digression may serve to shew that the practice of the post-Augustan Latin poets in respect of the hephthemimeral pause was not borrowed from the Greek.

The pauses in Greek hexameters seem to me generally much less heavy than the corresponding ones in Latin. And this is surely but natural. In no pause is the weight of the Latin as compared with the Greek[2] more notable than in the

[1] See p. 10.

[2] One of the most striking is the famous *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*.

hepthemimeral. And the Greek one is not only lighter, but it occurs far less frequently even in the Iliad and Odyssey, and tends to become more and more rare after Apollonius Rhodius. In Latin the phenomena are quite different. In Lucretius this pause is hardly noticed: yet the percentage is as high as in the Iliad and Odyssey, or higher. Down to this time I find in no writer, Greek or Latin, a percentage as high as 1·0 °/₀, with the doubtful and unimportant exception of Aratus. With Vergil the great change begins. In the Bucolics and Georgics I find about 1·8°/₀ and 1·5°/₀ respectively. In the Aeneid I—VI I find about 3·5°/₀, in VII—XII nearly 3·7°/₀. And this seems to have been about the normal percentage for the Augustan period. Ovid (met) gives 3·0°/₀, and even the loose hexameters of Horace furnish 2·0°/₀ or more. So far the pause in question is a pleasant feature of variety: with Lucan it becomes a morbid growth.

I must attempt some definition of what I mean by a 'strong' or 'heavy' pause. The systems of punctuation adopted by editors are very various, and the practice of any one editor is seldom if ever quite consistent with itself. Each case must be considered on its merits. My general principle may be stated thus. When there occurs in the middle of a line a pause which, if it had occurred at the end of a line, would have necessitated a noticeable halt—a space to take breath—for the purpose of duly rendering the sense, this is a 'strong' or 'heavy' pause. I do not see how to state it more precisely: in practice I apply it as follows.

> una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
> nunc dextros soluere sinus, una ardua torquent
> cornua detorquentque, ferunt sua flamina classem.

This is all one picture, with the details hanging very closely together. There is no heavy pause at *sinistros* though it is opposed to *dextros*; nor at *sinus*, for the following words merely repeat the same detail from another point of view. Whether we should make more of a halt at *detorquentque* is not clear, but I think the sense is better rendered by running on quickly. A little below we have

Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem:
aequatae spirant aurae: datur hora quieti.

Here the three propositions are uttered by the god of Sleep in leisurely succession, and there is a noticeable halt at both *classem* and *aurae.*

Relative clauses are often preceded by no perceptible pause, as

amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
obseruans nido inplumis detraxit.....

but sometimes the halt is clearly marked, as

quinque tenent caelum zonae: quarum una corusco
semper sole rubens.....
fulmina molitur dextra: quo maxuma motu
terra tremit.....

Where the continuation of sense is linked by *que* there is seldom a pause of any weight. Thus it is wrong to place anything more than a comma in

haut minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem
contorsit laeuas proram Palinurus ad undas.

but a heavier stop is surely demanded in

agit ipse furentem
in somnis ferus Aeneas: semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incomitata uidetur
ire uiam.....

Much the same may be said of continuations linked by *et, atque, nec,* and also *sed, aut,* &c.

So too in subdivisions effected by *hic.....hic, pars.....pars,* and other repetitions. Sometimes there is antithesis, sometimes they merely serve to express contemporaneous action or the like.

There is very rarely[1] a marked pause either before or after a parenthesis, a form of speech which almost always presupposes hurry.

[1] In a few cases the pause is independent of the parenthesis, as in Silius xvi 342, Stat silv ii i 230, Claudian cos Stil iii 231, rapt Pros iii 249.

At the introduction of a set speech[1] a heavy pause is quite regular, marking the beginning of the *oratio recta*, as

> cum sic orsa loqui uates: 'sate sanguine diuom,
> Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerno':

but if the verb of speaking [*ait, inquit,* etc] is imbedded in the *oratio recta,* there is of course no pause. If it comes at the end, the pause is after the verb, not at the end of the speech itself, as

> et mater 'cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi;
> Oceano libemus' ait.

Where the *inquit* etc is omitted, there is seldom much pause. The omission is often due to the hurry of the speaker as represented in the passage, as

> pluribus oranti Aeneas 'haut talia dudum
> dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'

There is generally a strong pause at the end of a question, but questions are often put one after another in the hurry of eagerness, or what is really part of the same question is tacked on with *aut, ue, que,* or the like, as a new question. Sometimes I can detect no strong pause, as in

> 'quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,
> impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis?' inquit.

and in

> 'state, uiri. quae causa uiae? quiue estis in armis?'

Enough has perhaps been said on this head in the way of distinction. That no two observers would produce exactly the same enumeration of strong hephthemimeral pauses, I freely admit. That the limits of difference between different enumerations would nevertheless be narrow, I feel confident. I do not believe that they would come to more in percentages than possibly to alter the second figure of a few decimals. Anyhow

[1] So the introduction of a speech often closes a pentameter in Ovid's most finished work: the speech itself begins with the following hexameter.

I have made large allowance for such differences, and have drawn no conclusions that are at all likely to be affected thereby.

I have remarked that the use of the hephthemimeral pause had a most important effect on the rhetorical movement of Latin hexameter poems. The more copious and flowing Greek was able to throw most of its shorter sayings to the end of the line. Instance the Homeric *ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω—πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει—ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα—ἀνίη καὶ πολὺς ὕπνος—κακὸν δ' ἀνεμώλια βάζειν*, and the Hesiodic *καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος—δειλὴ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι φειδώ*. In Latin this could not be done to the same extent, and poets instinctively met their needs by putting many of their stress-pieces earlier in the line, followed of course by a strong pause. A natural and a favourite pause was the penthemimeral. This is used with special felicity by Ovid. It had however this objectionable quality, that the piece marked off was metrically equivalent to half, often to the second half, of a pentameter. It might easily become too marked a feature of the verse, and spoil the roll of the continuous hexameters. This was especially the case when the last word was an iambic disyllable. With this ending the pause was more felt: *proiecere animas* is less striking than *concessere deum*. When we get to Ovid's *inter utrumque tene—uix ea nostra uoco—deteriora sequor*—and the like, we feel that to handle such component parts in a hexameter poem needs a versatility that is given to few. Ovid, with his genius and his long practice in the elegiac couplet, was only just able to handle them well. Lucan, who uses this pause very freely, produces an effect very different from that of Ovid. This is, I think, manifest to any careful reader. But I have taken two fairly representative books of each author and tested them carefully with this result.

| | lines | Penthemimeral pauses | % | form A | % | form B | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ovid met IV, XIII. | 1770 | 172 | 9·7 | 98 | 5·53 | 74 | 4·18 |
| Lucan III, VII. | 1634 | 143 | 8·7 | 69 | 4·2 | 74 | 4·5 |

There are more of these pauses in 100 lines of the Ovid than in the Lucan. But in Ovid, those which do not fall after a ⏑– word [Form A] far outnumber those which do fall after a ⏑– word [Form B]. In Lucan those of the B form slightly outnumber those of the A form. When we take the cases of the B form by themselves, we find

| Penthemimeral B | = 2nd half pentameter | not = 2nd half pentameter |
|---|---|---|
| Ovid | 44 | 30 |
| Lucan | 23 | 51 |

I take this to indicate that both writers felt a need of avoiding some cadence that did not please the ear. Ovid avoids the excess of what I have called form B. Lucan loves form B, but avoids making it often equivalent to the second half of a pentameter. In other words, to avoid over frequent repetition of such forms as *corripe lora manu*, Ovid rather leans to such as *uim parat et sequitur ;* Lucan, with the same object, finds such forms as *rumpunt fata moras* or *agnoscendus erat* not less pleasing to his ear than *sola tamen colitur*. And I may remark that this is merely a special instance of the general statement, that of all Latin poets no one manages his pauses with such an effect of hardness as Lucan.

That a female division followed by an iambic word afforded the best possible means for making a strong pause, is shewn by the history of the endings of the Latin pentameter. In its fullest developement under Ovid practically no other ending was employed. Small wonder then if it had to be taken into account in the use of penthemimeral pauses in hexameters. But when we come to consider the hephthemimeral pause we find this question of endings far more important. The portion of the line cut off by this pause was not part of a pentameter, and so there was not the same risk of pentametrizing the hexameters, at least directly. Indirectly a result was produced, analogous and not less hurtful to the hexameter movement, by the excessive use of the hephthemimeral pause at an

iambic ending. For, speaking generally, the important thing to observe in this connexion is this, that the dominance of the iambic ending and the excessive use of this pause go together.

TABLE OF HEPHTHEMIMERAL PAUSE IN LATIN WRITERS.

| Name of author, work, &c. | No of lines | hephthl pauses | % | form A | % | form B | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cicero, de consulatu, Aratea | 558 | 3 | 0·53 | 3 | 0·53 | 0 | 0 |
| Catullus LXIV | 397 | 2 | 0·5 | 2 | 0·5 | 0 | 0 |
| Lucretius | 7408 | 35 | 0·472 | 33 | 0·445 | 2 | 0·027 |
| Vergil, bucolica | 811 | 15 | 1·84 | 6 | 0·74 | 9 | 1·1 |
| georgica | 2188 | 34 | 1·55 | 25 | 1·14 | 9 | 0·41 |
| Aeneis I—VI | 4755 | 168 | 3·52 | 97 | 2·03 | 71 | 1·49 |
| VII—XII | 5141 | 190 | 3·69 | 87 | 1·69 | 103 | 2·0 |
| Aeneis I—XII | 9896 | 358 | 3·6 | 184 | 1·85 | 174 | 1·75 |
| Horace, sermm, epistt | 4086 | 90 | 2·2 | 62 | 1·517 | 28 | 0·685 |
| Ovid, metamorphoses | 11995 | 360 | 3·0 | 86 | 0·7 | 274 | 2·3 |
| ? laus Messalae | 211 | 5 | 2·37 | 1 | 0·47 | 4 | 1·9 |
| ? Aetna | 645 | 15 | 2·32 | 9 | 1·39 | 6 | 0·93 |
| ? culex | 414 | 14 | 3·3 | 11 | 2·6 | 3 | 0·7 |
| ? Ciris | 541 | 1 | 0·18 | 1 | 0·18 | 0 | 0 |
| Grattius, cynegetica | 530 | 18 | 3·38 | 2 | 0·37 | 16 | 3·01 |
| Germanicus, Aratea | 932 | 24 | 2·58 | 16 | 1·72 | 8 | 0·86 |
| Manilius | 4258 | 124 | 2·9 | 76 | 1·78 | 48 | 1·12 |
| Columella X | 436 | 2 | 0·4 | 2 | 0·4 | 0 | 0 |
| ? laus Pisonis | 261 | 10 | 3·8 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 3·8 |
| Petronius, fragmenta | 447 | 19 | 4·25 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 4·25 |
| Persius | 650 | 17 | 2·6 | 12 | 1·84 | 5 | 0·76 |
| Lucan | 8059 | 606 | 7·51 | 75 | 0·93 | 531 | 6·58 |
| ? Ilias Latina | 1070 | 33 | 3·0 | 15 | 1·4 | 18 | 1·6 |
| Valerius Flaccus | 5592 | 289 | 5·1 | 25 | 0·4 | 264 | 4·7 |
| Silius Italicus | 12202 | 702 | 5·75 | 338 | 2·77 | 364 | 2·98 |
| Statius, siluae | 3321 | 182 | 5·48 | 6 | 0·18 | 176 | 5·3 |
| Thebais, Achilleis | 10839 | 589 | 5·4 | 68 | 0·6 | 521 | 4·8 |
| Juvenal | 3837 | 70 | 1·8 | 28 | 0·72 | 42 | 1·09 |
| Calpurnius, bucolica | 758 | 17 | 2·24 | 3 | 0·39 | 14 | 1·85 |
| Serenus Sammonicus | 1107 | 2 | 1·8 | 2 | 1·8 | 0 | 0 |
| Reposianus | 182 | 11 | 6·0 | 1 | 0·5 | 10 | 5·5 |
| Nemesianus, bucol, cyneg | 644 | 11 | 1·7 | 4 | 0·62 | 7 | 1·08 |
| ? vespae iudicium | 99 | 3 | 3·0 | 3 | 3·0 | 0 | 0 |
| ? epistula Didonis | 150 | 28 | 18·6 | ? 1 | 0·6 | 27 | 18·0 |
| ? uerba Achillis | 89 | 3 | 3·3 | 1 | 1·1 | 2 | 2·2 |
| Juvencus, euangelia | 3212 | 35 | 1·089 | 17 | 0·529 | 18 | 0·56 |
| Avienus, orbis terrae, Aratea | 3270 | 50 | 1·5 | 25 | 0·76 | 25 | 0·76 |
| Ausonius | 1401 | 52 | 3·7 | 15 | 1·07 | 37 | 2·64 |
| Paulinus Nolanus | 6137 | 163 | 2·65 | 54 | 0·879 | 109 | 1·776 |
| Prudentius | 4754 | 110 | 2·3 | 33 | 0·69 | 77 | 1·62 |
| ? carmen de ponderibus | 208 | 6 | 2·8 | 5 | 2·4 | 1 | 0·48 |
| Claudian | 7814 | 741 | 9·4 | 173 | 2·2 | 568 | 7·2 |
| Merobaudes,paneg,lausChristi | 220 | 25 | 11·3 | 1 | 0·4 | 24 | 10·9 |
| ? laudes Herculis | 137 | 18 | 13·1 | 1 | 0·7 | 17 | 12·4 |
| Cyprian, heptateuchos | 5376 | 165 | 3·06 | 26 | 0·48 | 139 | 2·58 |
| Hilarius, in Genesin | 198 | 5 | 2·5 | 3 | 1·5 | 2 | 1·0 |
| ? de Maccabaeis | 394 | 20 | 5·0 | 8 | 2·0 | 12 | 3·0 |

TABLE OF HEPHTHEMIMERAL PAUSE IN LATIN WRITERS, *continued.*

| Name of author, work, &c. | No of lines | hephthl pauses | % | form A | % | form B | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Victor, alethias | 2020 | 71 | 3·5 | 11 | 0·54 | 60 | 2·97 |
| Apollinaris Sidonius | 2450 | 236 | 9·6 | 61 | 2·48 | 175 | 7·14 |
| Sedulius | 1737 | 98 | 5·6 | 0 | 0 | 98 | 5·6 |
| Paulinus Petricordiae | 3622 | 135 | 3·7 | 27 | 0·74 | 108 | 2·98 |
| Avitus | 3218 | 83 | 2·57 | 15 | 0·46 | 68 | 2·11 |
| Dracontius, carmina profana | 2313 | 206 | 8·9 | 12 | 0·5 | 194 | 8·4 |
| ? Orestis tragoedia | 974 | 52 | 5·3 | 6 | 0·6 | 46 | 4·7 |
| ? aegritudo Perdicae | 290 | 25 | 8·6 | 5 | 1·72 | 20 | 6·89 |
| Ennodius | 304 | 10 | 3·3 | 2 | 0·66 | 8 | 2·66 |
| Corippus, Iohannis, laus Iustini | 6244 | 472 | 7·5 | 47 | 0·75 | 425 | 6·8 |

*Note.* Under A are counted such endings as *satis est, tamen es, nisi te, homini est,* and (one case only, I think, Silius xv 353) *in equos.*

Under B are counted such as *sat est, malum est, quid ages, quid amor.*

But the total number of these is so small as to be hardly worth mentioning.

Let me illustrate the difference between the two easily-distinguished forms of this pause.

NON-IAMBIC ENDING [FORM A].

dorsum immane mari summo.
detrudunt nauis scopulo.
corripiunt onerantque auro.
Pygmalionis opes pelago.
hic portus alii effodiunt.
iamque dies infanda aderat.

IAMBIC ENDING [FORM B].

posthabita coluisse Samo.
imperium sine fine dedi.
et quorum pars magna fui.
custodes sufferre ualent.
una salus ambobus erit.
hactenus indulsisse uacat.

I think it is clear that B lends itself to the rendering of *sententiae* and emphatic passages—'stress-pieces' I call them—far more readily than A does. It supplied a sort of substitute for the pentameter, with the advantage that a writer could

employ it just when he chose: thus he was freed from the trammels of the elegiac couplet. He could run on for many lines without pausing at this point of the verse: he could at need employ this pause freely, even in several continuous lines. And this is the practice of the rhetorical poets, particularly Lucan and Claudian. That the fondness for this pause arose from the practice of recitations, that its primary use was to convey what we call 'point,' that it stood in some relation to certain tricks of reading and gesture, seems[1] to me beyond a doubt. And that the successful use of it depended largely on its restriction mainly to the B form seems equally clear. In the Aeneid these tendencies can, I think, be already detected at work. In Ovid the decline of the A form is very marked. In the fragments of Petronius A disappears, while B is frequent. In Lucan A occurs, but is utterly overpowered by B. In Valerius Flaccus and Statius B is even more predominant. So too in Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris, authors in whom the total percentage of these pauses (A + B) reaches the high figure of 9°/₀ or more. Sedulius, Dracontius, and Corippus present much the same characteristics, and may fairly close the list.

All these writers survive in considerable bulk, with exception of Petronius. But the tendency I am describing is in him too strong to leave room for doubt, and his importance is great from his relation[2] to Lucan. I need say nothing of many of the names that appear in my table, because they are too meagrely represented to supply much sound basis for argument. Of others I have to say as follows. The *Ciris*, the versified book of Columella, Sammonicus, Nemesianus, Juvencus, Avienus, have too little movement and too few pauses to concern me here. Stiff and awkward versifiers there were no doubt in all periods. Of those in which A outnumbers B, the *Aetna* and *Culex* are neither important nor of certain

[1] This was pointed out by Nisard in his études sur les poëtes latins de la décadence (Paris 1849), but applied to Lucan and the Neronian age. I hold it applicable to the later writers also, whether they recited or not, the only exceptions being authors who stood aloof from the fashionable rhetorical taste.

[2] I refer to the long fragment *de bello ciuili*.

date. The *Aratea* of Germanicus is a technical work, and so is the later *carmen de ponderibus*. In the present state of Manilius' text I cannot feel at all sure that my numbers are trustworthy: but I believe he, like the earlier writers generally, uses A rather more often than B. That Persius should stand outside the usage of his period (if our small evidence entitles us to say so much) will cause no wonder. The so-called Latin Iliad has A and B about equally: but it is a very unsatisfactory work from the rhetorical point of view, the scale of the treatment varying from 141 lines allotted to book II down to the 3 lines expressive of book XVII. Curiously enough, the ratio of A to B is almost exactly the same as in the *Punica* of Silius, in whom some have found the Italicus of the 'Iliad'. The difference between Silius and his fellow Flavians Valerius and Statius is one of the most notable phenomena I have observed. All three have 5°/₀ of hephthemimeral pauses, but while the two superior writers revel in the use of the B form and seldom lapse into A, Silius has A and B about equally. Now, not only was Silius deficient in poetic gifts, but (as Bernhardy pointed out) he lacks even a sufficient mastery of rhetoric to lend a secondary interest to his work. Of this his practice in the use of the two forms of the pause is an additional witness. Silius attempted a sort of Vergilian reaction; he moulded himself to the best of his powers on Vergil: Lucian Mueller calls him Vergil's ape. Doubtless his ear, trained by constant repetition of the Aeneid, guided him to the practice actually observed by him. With adequate genius the effort might have had some success. As it is, he is an instructive phenomenon and no more. Of Ausonius I should say that a much truer view of his deliberate practice may be got by taking his chief poem *Mosella* alone. In 483 lines we have 12 hephthemimeral pauses (say 2·5°/₀) all of the B form. Of the Christian poets Paulinus Nolanus, Prudentius, Cyprian, Victor, Paulinus Petricordiae, Avitus, Ennodius, the one notable thing is that they follow, though in a less degree, the practice which I have shewn to be prevalent. This result surprised me: for, though their greater earnestness makes them generally better reading than some of the Pagan poets, they often

have from the rhetorical point of view an air of being pre-occupied, and their execution[1] seems stiff or slovenly. In most of them occur monsters of prosody, for which an intractable vocabulary may sometimes furnish an excuse.

There remains to consider the one really adverse instance, the exception to the prevailing rule, Juvenal. That Juvenal is rhetorical and sententious no one will deny. That he uses the B form rather more often than the A form is, I think, clear. That he understood its peculiar fitness for rendering stress-pieces is plain from such instances as *nos te, nos facimus, Fortuna, deam* and *sarcophago contentus erit.* But yet he uses the hephthemimeral pause much more sparingly than writers with whom we may fairly compare him, such as Lucan and Statius, not to mention Claudian. Other pauses are very frequent: one of the most characteristic is the 'bucolic' pause at the fourth dactyl: of this I find 153 instances [nearly 4%], and four cases of the fourth-spondee pause besides. Even the pause after the first foot occurs 51 times (1·3%): two of these are spondaic, formed by elisions. But his favourites are the penthemimeral and trithemimeral, which work out thus

| Pause | Total | % | A | % | B | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Penthemimeral | 232 | 6·0 | 168 | 4·37 | 64 | 1·66 |
| Trithemimeral | 162 | 4·2 | 133 | 3·46 | 29 | 0·75 |

Clearly then Juvenal preferred to break the line for purposes of stress and vivid representation in a manner very different from (say) Lucan or Statius. The penthemimeral pause is the one in which their practice on the whole agrees. That the hephthemimeral pause should be utterly outnumbered and made insignificant by the bucolic and trithemimeral, is a marked feature of Juvenal's rhetoric. And here I am content to leave the matter. That Juvenal had a profound contempt for the lecture-room epics of Roman literary circles, is well known. That the satires were meant for the lecture-room is

[1] They are mostly fond of asyndeta, and are apt to fall into a breathless style with very few pauses of any kind.

hardly likely. That antipathy to the thought and feeling, the affectation and mannerism, of the coterie-poets should be accompanied by a difference[1] of movement, seems to me the not unnatural outcome of a rhetoric not so much the slave-follower of convention as the organ of genuine feeling and native force. Juvenal is an exception, and an exception let him be. To make a special class of Satirists, and treat them as exceptional, does not seem to me right. For there seems nothing really remarkable in the case of Horace, and Persius is hardly worth considering to this extent.

I will now illustrate by a few instances the character imparted to Latin hexameter poetry by the pause of which I am treating.

'o mundo tantorum causa laborum,
quid superos et fata tenes? sunt cetera cursu
acta meo, summam rapti per prospera belli
te poscit fortuna manum. non rupta uadosis
Syrtibus incerto Libye nos diuidit aestu.
numquid inexperto tua credimus arma profundo,
inque nouos traheris casus? ignaue, uenire
te Caesar non ire iubet'.

LUCAN v 481—8.

'quare age cognatas primum defendite sedes,
nec decus oblati dimiseris aduena belli:
namque uirum[2] trahit ipse chalybs. tum uellera uictor
tam meritis, nec sola, dabo'. contra inscius astus
'ergo nec hic nostris derat labor arduus actis'
excipit Aesonides 'et ceu nihil aequore passis
additus iste dies? ueniant super haec quoque fato
bella meo. non hunc parua mihi caede dolorem
quasque dedit luet ille moras'. tum Castora mittit,

VALER FL v 538—46.

[1] In the Introduction to Friedländer's Juvenal, p. 58, Dr Eskuche well says 'er will durch Nichtbeachten oder gar Uebertreiben der gangbaren Verskünste das Kunstgesetz derselben Dichter verhöhnen, die er ob des Inhaltes ihrer Werke im Eingang des ersten Satirenbuches so grausam mitnimmt.' This is said under the head of 'Versbau.' It is at least equally true of rhetorical mannerism.

[2] Odyssey xvi 294.

inde unum dira comitum de plebe Pauorem
quadripedes anteire iubet: non alter anhelos
insinuare metus animoque auertere uires
aptior; innumerae monstro uocesque manusque
et facies quamcumque uelit: bonus omnia credi
auctor et horrificis lymphare incursibus urbes.
si geminos soles ruituraque suadeat astra,
aut nutare solum aut ueteres descendere siluas,
a miseri uidisse putant.

STAT THEB VII 108—16.

si metuis, si praua cupis, si duceris ira,
seruitii patiere iugum; tolerabis iniquas
interius leges. tunc omnia iure tenebis,
cum poteris rex esse tui. procliuior usus
in peiora datur suadetque licentia luxum
inlecebrisque effrena fauet. tum uiuere caste
asperius, cum prompta Venus: tum durius irae
consulitur, cum poena patet.

CLAUDIAN IV COS HONOR 259—66.

trepidus te territat hostis,
sed tutus claudente freto, uelut hispidus alta
sus prope tesqua iacet claususque cacuminat albis
os nigrum telis grauidum; circumlatrat ingens
turba canum, si forte uelit concurrere campo;
ille per obiectos uepres tumet atque superbit,
ui tenuis fortisque loco, dum proximus heia
uenator de colle sonat: uox nota magistri
lassatam reparat rabiem; tum uulnera caecus
fastidit sentire furor. quid proelia differs?
quid mare formidas, pro cuius saepe triumphis
et caelum pugnare solet?

APOLL SID CARM V 89—100.

I think these passages fairly illustrate what I have said. In the hands of a strong writer, such as Lucan at his best, we see the new verse-rhetoric to advantage: the free quasi-pentameter renders[1] with appropriate brevity and force sneers such

[1] V 114, I 670.

as *et superos uetuere loqui* or words of scorn such as *cum domino pax ista uenit.* But when used, as it more often is, without special appropriateness to the sense, without rhetorical excuse, it produces an effect[1] of flatness and impotence: it is as though the sentence were too feeble either to compress itself within the one line or to fill the next. The example cited by Nisard is enough

> cornus tibi cura sinistri,
> Lentule, cum prima, quae tum fuit optima bello,
> et quarta legione datur. LUCAN VII 219.

This is of course exceptionally bad. But the less offensive instances become offensive when they occur near together, as in the passage cited above from Statius. The passage of Valerius calls attention to the frequent use of a hephthemimeral pause at the close of a speech: here are two cases within a few lines. This was a common practice, and nothing shews more convincingly that this pause is intentionally used. In Lucan I have reckoned up the speech-endings—one or two (as VIII 435) are speeches quoted in other speeches—and this is the result: out of 122 speeches

47 end with the end of a line.
38 end with hephthemimeral pause, one only of these (X 398) being of the A form.
22 end with penthemimeral pause, five being of the A form.
8 end with trithemimeral pause, 6 being dactylic and 2 spondaic.
4 end with the first foot dactyl.
3 end with the 4th dactyl (bucolic).

In other words; set aside those ending with the end of a line, and the hephthemimerals outnumber all the rest together. I have not counted the speech-endings of other authors. But I do not think they would be found to end with this pause quite so often as they do in Lucan. Lucan is ever in extremes.

[1] Nisard well says, referring to the case of Lucan only, 'mais, comme cette coupe paraît plus spécialement affectée aux choses d'éclat, quand on la trouve là où elle n'a rien à faire valoir, elle est la pire sorte de négligence, une négligence qui sent l'apprêt'.

And now let me point out that the most striking instances of excessive use of this pause are found in some of the minor poems, probably of the fourth and fifth centuries. Merobaudes, a composer of considerable skill, gives 11°/₀, nearly all of the B form. The *laudes Herculis* gives 13°/₀, again nearly all of the B form. But we have not even yet reached the extreme case, which is that of the so-called 'epistle of Dido', supposed to be the production of a fourth century poet of the African school. The importance of this work as a rhetorical phenomenon is very great. It has 18°/₀ of hephthemimeral pauses in the B form. This alone is a remarkable illustration of the lengths to which the disease could go, utterly undermining the constitution of the hexameter. Above all it is to be noted that we have here a writer who carries out the evil practice to its natural result. He brings this pause into direct connexion with a mechanically-repeated refrain, which I will shew[1] by quotation.

(1) lines 39—58

uota nocentis habes; nihil est quod dura querellis
uerba fidemque uoco: quisquis mea uulnera deflet,
inuidiam fecisse neget. trahit omnia casus.
dum sortem natura rapit, *sua taedia solus*
*fallere nescit amor.* reparatum Cynthia format
lucis honore iubar, curuatis cornibus arcus
quod de fratre rubet: cessurus lege sorori
consumit sua iura dies. sic continet orbem,
dum recipit natura uicem. *sua taedia solus*
*fallere nescit amor.* mersum pallentibus umbris
circumdat nox atra diem fruiturque tenebras
lege poli peraguntque micantia sidera cursus.
nauifragi tacet unda salis nec murmurat auster
nec flexum quatit aura nemus. *sua taedia solus*
*fallere nescit amor.* ramis †male† garrula pendens
iam philomela tacet damno male uicta pudoris,
amplexuque fouens querulos sub culmine nidos
pensat amore nefas, miserasque alitura querellas

[1] I give the text of Riese. There is some doubt about the reading and punctuation of line 42.

nocte premit, quod luce dolet. *sua taedia solus*
*fallere nescit amor.*

And so on till the refrain comes nine times in all. Then after a few lines rest there begins a new series of four refrains.

(2) lines 100—12
nullus amor sub †laude† latet. *cui digna rependes,*
*si mihi dura paras?* miserandae fata Creusae
lamentis gemituque trahens infanda peregi
uota deis durumque nefas sortemque malorum
te narrante tuli, gemitus mentisque dolorem,
et lacrimas prior ipsa dedi. *cui digna rependes,*
*si mihi dura paras?* dulcis mea colla fouebat
Ascanius miserumque puer figebat amorem,
cui modo nostra fides amissam reddere matrem
dum cupit, hoc uerum mentito pignore nomen
format amor gemitusque graues atque oscula figit
confessus pietate dolor. *cui digna rependes,*
*si mihi dura paras?*

Surely this performance speaks for itself. When the pause comes in necessarily every fifth line, and is followed by a set phrase repeated again and again, we are within measurable distance of a stanza-system. It may be said that this is foreshadowed in the refrain-verses of the bucolic poets and the *currite ducentes* and *Hymen o hymenaee* of Catullus. But there is all the difference in the world between repeating a detached and complete line on the one hand and recognizing a half-way pause as normal on the other. It may fairly be doubted whether the refrain-verse is not strictly speaking a misuse of the hexameter: that the method of the 'epistle of Dido' marks the dotage of hexameter poetry seems to admit no doubt whatever. The true dignity of the *uersus herous* requires a stately flow, which has utterly perished. We may apply in a new connexion the words of Quintilian[1], *quae conexa est et totis uiribus fluit fragosa atque interrupta melior oratio.*

To return to what I said above [p. 12—3], it may be objected that there is nothing remarkable in the occurrence

[1] IX 4 § 7.

of a particular pause on the average (say) once in every 25 or 30 lines. This sounds plausible enough: what is there about the hephthemimeral pause that attracts attention, that affects the run of the poem, in fact? How does the case of the Aeneid differ from that of (say) the *laus Pisonis* or the fragments of Petronius? The percentage of these pauses is much the same (Petronius 4°/₀, the others 3°/₀). But in the Aeneid the forms A and B divide the total about equally: the two later writers use B alone. How great the difference in point of stress is between the two forms I have already remarked: it will be seen more clearly when we reflect that form A was easily combined[1] with an elision, while B was not. No doubt this is one reason why it was easy for B to prevail over A, and that even in the hands of stiff and awkward writers who employ few pauses of any kind. Compare[2]

extremos pudeat rediisse. hoc uincite, ciues,

with

non aequo dare se campo, non obuia ferre
arma uiros, sed castra fouere. huc turbidus atque huc....

When to the disuse of elision is added the influence of the desire for trochaic or 'female' divisions—in this case the 'third trochee'—the ground is prepared, so far as rhythmical considerations go. Rhetoric steps in, and turns this particular type of pause to account in rendering point and stress. But it could not stop short here, and the slovenly inartistic use of the pause leads on the one hand to the piecemeal chopped-up style of Claudian, on the other to the monstrosities of the 'epistle of Dido'.

I have tried to set forth and explain one of the many artifices the use of which was fostered by the rhetorical training of the young and the recitations affected by those of riper years. It is a small matter, no doubt: but it may serve to illustrate the accepted views of the later Roman literature which are the common property of critics. It may

[1] I do not mean that this was often done. Beside the line quoted from Vergil I have only noted Silius XI 349, XVI 424, Stat Theb IX 426, XII 445, 561, Juvenal XIV 123.

[2] Aen V 196, IX 57.

also throw a side light on what has always seemed to me a curious circumstance, that Latin elegiac poetry practically ends with the Augustan age. It has often been pointed out that the power of wielding lyric metres in Latin died out with Horace. The Alcaics and Sapphics of Statius are clear proofs of the loss of this art: they are especially deficient in variety of pause: the sense breaks with the close of the stanza, and the effect is nearly analogous to that of some of the minor hexameter works of a fanciful or technical character, which jolt along somehow, a few lines at a time. The place of strictly lyric metres is in the silver age, to a great extent at least, taken by the hendecasyllable, which could be managed with greater freedom and ease. The place of the elegiac couplet, save as the vehicle of epigram, was, I suggest, filled—and very badly filled—by the debased hexameter: or rather the debased hexameter is the substitute for the metres of Vergil Tibullus Propertius and Ovid. One elegiac poet of merit does honour to the old age of the sinking Empire: and when we read the surviving fragment of Rutilius it is hard to bear in mind that we are at a point of time just 400 years from the death of Ovid. Had the couplet been really suited to recitation poetry, we might perhaps have seen it dominant during those four centuries, and on the other hand might have found surviving only a few trivial remains of hexameter verse.

It is *a priori* most probable that, generally speaking, the tendency to use any particular pause will be connected with a tendency to use the corresponding caesura freely in lines where there is not this pause or indeed any pause. I have tested most of the important writers in respect of the B form of the hephthemimeral pause. Treating the percentages in curves, it is clear that there is a general agreement. But it is general, not detailed. Thus Vergil in the georgics has less than 0·5 °/₀ of B pauses to 9 °/₀ of B caesuras, in the Aeneid 1·75 °/₀ pauses to less than 11 °/₀ caesuras. Ovid has over 2 °/₀ pauses to 11 °/₀ caesuras. For others,

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Petronius (bell civ) | | 4 °/₀ | pauses | to less than | 10 °/₀ | caesuras |
| Lucan | | 6·5 °/₀ | ,, | nearly | 18 °/₀ | ,, |
| Valerius | under | 5 °/₀ | ,, | | 19 °/₀ | ,, |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Silius | nearly | 3 °/₀ | pauses to | | 11 °/₀ | caesuras |
| Statius (Th) | under | 5 °/₀ | ,, | over | 22·5 °/₀ | ,, |
| Juvenal | | 1 °/₀ | ,, | nearly | 8·5 °/₀ | ,, |
| Ausonius | over | 2·5 °/₀ | ,, | nearly | 12 °/₀ | ,, |
| Claudian | | 7 °/₀ | ,, | | 24 °/₀ | ,, |
| Apoll Sidon | | 7 °/₀ | ,, | nearly | 28 °/₀ | ,, |
| Sedulius | | 5·5 °/₀ | ,, | | 29 °/₀ | ,, |
| Avitus | | 2 °/₀ | ,, | | 11 °/₀ | ,, |
| Dracontius | over | 8 °/₀ | ,, | over | 31 °/₀ | ,, |
| Corippus | over | 6·5 °/₀ | ,, | | 25 °/₀ | ,, |

The two sets of figures, in fact, illustrate without explaining each other. Juvenal has only about one caesura to three in Claudian. But of pauses he has only one to seven. In other words, a rhythmical and a rhetorical habit may and do naturally go well together, but they are by no means the same thing.

If we ask why the word following a third trochee should be so commonly iambic, the Latin vocabulary must give the answer. Words ⏑ – – were at first used, as [Lucr II 619]

concaua, raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu,

but did not find favour in later writers. And words ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ were few[1] and not always available. The rhythm of *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον* was not given to Latin. Hence the excessive number of ⏑ – words in this position.

I will now set down in a few words the allegations which my inquiry leads me to make.

Metrical composition regarded as a means of utterance is greatly affected by the use of pauses causing the reader to halt at this or that point in a line.

This is more particularly the case where poetry is composed with the view of being read aloud.

One of the most important pauses in the Latin hexameter is that at the hephthemimeral caesura.

This pause occurs in two clearly distinguishable forms, in one of which (B) the break comes after an iambic word following a third trochee, while in the other (A) it does not.

[1] Ovid's experiment (met IV 556) *illa manus ut forte tetenderat in maris undas* is hardly pleasing.

Of these forms, B was probably commended to a Roman ear by a rhythmic quality analogous to that which led to the well-known limitation of the ending of the pentameter line in the Augustan age.

Speaking generally, the use of the hephthemimeral pause came more and more into favour after the publication of the *Aeneid*.

And side by side with this tendency came a decided preference for the B form, the beginning of which preference is first clearly seen in Ovid.

Under rhetorical influences the use of this pause (and of the B form in particular) was carried to great excess in the Neronian period and afterwards.

Neither the excessive use of this pause nor the preference for the B form is due to imitation of Greek models.

The excessive use (and misuse) of this pause made or helped to make a great change in the rhetorical movement of hexameter poetry.

It is to be correlated with a notable change of style—a growing tendency to attitudinize—but the relation is on both sides one partly of cause partly of effect.

It is probably also in some way connected with the rapid decay (epigram excepted) of elegiac poetry in Latin.

W E HEITLAND

# A NEW HOMERIC PAPYRUS.

THE following text is derived from a papyrus (now Brit. Mus. Pap. DCCXXXII) acquired in Egypt last winter by my friend and colleague Mr B. P. Grenfell, who has entrusted to me the task of its publication. It contains the greater part of the thirteenth and fourteenth books of the *Iliad*. The central portion, from XIII 675 to XIV 120, has for the most part disappeared; otherwise considerable gaps are few, and in places, especially XIII 187—617, the MS is almost complete. From the point of view of mere size, therefore, this is one of the most important Homeric papyri extant; and age and contents combine to give it additional value. These two books are not, I believe, represented elsewhere on papyrus. It is therefore fortunate that this happens to be such an early text. The hand is a remarkably fine specimen of the literary uncial, and, though much more ornate, presents some points of resemblance to that of Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXVIII, which Mr Kenyon has assigned to the first century B.C. Although I do not wish to claim such antiquity for the present text, and should perhaps hesitate to put Pap. CXXVIII so early, I think it probable that the former falls within the first century of our era. Of this there are other indications than the mere character of the writing. In the first place the MS was originally entirely free from stops, breathings, accents, and other lection signs. Points, varying from round dots to short oblique strokes, have been subsequently added, both within and at the ends of lines, throughout the thirteenth book; in the fourteenth they are absent. Accents, breathings, marks of elision, and diaereses, have been put in here and there in both books; these will be

noticed as they occur. There are also occasional corrections, which are written in two hands. One of these, of which the only certain examples are found in XIII 269 and 335, supplies valuable evidence as to the date of the MS. It is a small cursive, which can hardly be later than the second century, and may possibly belong to the first. The more frequent corrections of the other hand, which I suspect is responsible for the punctuation, accents, etc., are written in a rough uncial, which might be as late as the third century.

The papyrus has evidently seen a good deal of service; in parts the writing is much rubbed, and that this deterioration is ancient is evident from the fact that in one or two places the faded letters have been rewritten. Not infrequently it has been strengthened by pieces of papyrus gummed on at the back. The mender was not very skilful, and sometimes succeeded in concealing part of what he meant to preserve. Fortunately his glue was of a soluble nature. The fragmentary cursive writing on these adhesive strips seems to be of the second or third century. The original length of the roll, and the fineness of the papyrus which composed it, render the need of some extraneous support easily intelligible. In height the average measurement is about 9 inches, each column containing from 38 to 40 lines, and measuring about 5 inches across. At this rate the roll was some 16 feet in length.

For a papyrus the MS. is on the whole well written. Mistakes occasionally occur, the commonest being the obtrusion of the iota adscript. The only variation in orthography at all frequent is the replacement of ι by ει, and *vice versa*. The text seems to have no pronounced affinities. Original readings, though interesting, are few, and for the most part of minor importance.

The following transcription is a reproduction of the original except for the division of words. In the lacunae, which are filled up from the text of La Roche, I have adhered to the regular spelling of the papyrus, e.g. in the retention of the iota adscript. La Roche's text, which I call R, is also the basis of the accompanying collation. Mutilated letters, the decipherment of which seemed uncertain, are marked by a dot under-

neath them. Those about which, though incomplete, there could be no reasonable doubt, are not so distinguished, but simply placed outside the bracket.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

## Iliad XIII.

Col. I.

[
[τους μεν εα παρα τησι πονο]ν τ [εχεμεν και οιζυν
[νωλεμεως αυτος τε παλιν τρ]επε[ν οσσε φαεινω
[νοσφιν εφ ιπποπολων] θρηικων κα[θορωμενος αιαν
[μυσων τ αγχεμαχων κ]αι αγαυων ι[ππημολγων
[γλακτοφαγων αβιων τ]ε δικαιοτατω[ν ανθρωπων
[ες τροιην δ ου παμπαν] ετ[ι] τρεπεν ο[σσε φαεινω
[ου γαρ ο γ αθανατων τι]ν εελπετο ον [κατα θυμον
[ελθοντ η τρωεσσιν αρ]ηγ[εμ]εν η δαν[αοισιν
[ουδ αλαοσκοπιην ει]χε κ[ρε]ιων ενο[σιχθων
[και γαρ ο θαυμαζων ησ]το π[το]λ[εμον τε μαχην τε
[υψον επ ακροτατης κορ]υ[φης σαμου υληεσσης

* * * * * *

[παντοθεν εκ κευθμων ουδ ηγν]οιησ[εν ανακτα
[γηθοσυνηι δε θαλασσα διιστατο τοι δ]ε π[τοντο
[ριμφα μαλ ουδ υπενερθε διαινετο] χαλκ[εος αξων
[τον δ ες αχαιων νηας ευσκαρθμοι] φερον [ιπποι
[εστι δε τι σπεος ευρυ βαθειης βεν]θε[σι] λιμ̣ν̣[ης
[μεσσηγυς τενεδοιο και ιμβρου π]αιπα[λο]εσσ[ης
[ενθ ιππους εστησε ποσιδαων ε]ν̣οσιχθων

Col. II.

* * * * * *

[νοστησαντα ανακτα ο δ ες στρατον ωιχετ αχα]ιων
[

9 *αρηγεμεν*: so CDLS; *ἀρηξέμεν* R with AGH Harl. Lips.

10 *αλαοσκοπιην* was probably the reading of the papyrus; cf. xiv. 135, note.

34 This line ended the first column, which was rather shorter than the rest.

[εκτορι πριαμιδηι αμοτον μεμαωτες επ]οντο
[
[αιρησειν κτενεειν δε παρ αυτοφι παντας] αχαιους
[
[
[εισαμενος καλχαντι δεμας και ατειρεα φω]νην·
[αιαντε σφω μεν τε σαωσετε λαον αχαιω]ν
[αλκης μνησαμενω μη δε κρυεροιο φοβοι]ο·
[αλληι μεν γαρ εγω γ ου δειδια χειρας ααπτου]ς
[τρωων οι μεγα τειχος υπερκατεβησαν ομει]λωι·
[
[τηι δε δη αινοτατον περιδειδια μη τι παθωμ]εν
[
[
[
[αυτω θ εσταμεναι κρατερως και ανωγεμεν αλλο]υς·

* * * * * *

Col. III.

και δ εμοι αυτωι θ[υμος ενι στηθεσσι φιλοισι
μαλλον εφορματα[ι πολεμιζειν ηδε μαχεσθαι
μαιμωωσι δ ενερθε [ποδες και χειρες υπερθε
τον δ απαμειβομεν[ος προσεφη τελαμωνιος αιας
ουτω δη και μοι περι [δουρατι χειρες ααπτοι
μαιμωσι· και μοι μ[ενος ωρορε νερθε δε ποσσιν
εσσυμαι αμφοτερ[οισι μενοινωω δε και οιος
εκτορι πριαμιδη[ι αμοτον μεμαωτι μαχεσθαι
ως οι μεν τοιαυ[τα προς αλληλους αγορευον
χαρμη[ι γηθοσυνοι την σφιν θεος εμβαλε θυμωι
τοφρα δε [τους οπιθεν γαιηοχος ωρσεν αχαιους
οι παρα ν[ηυσι θοησιν ανεψυχον φιλον ητορ
των ρ αμ[α τ αργαλεωι καματωι φιλα γυια λελυντο

42 *αχαιους*: so ADEL; *ἀρίστους* R with CGH Vrat. d. Harl.

46 The omission of this line is due to the fact that line 47 begins with the same word.

77 *δη και μοι*: *νῦν καὶ ἐμοί* R with MSS exc. G, which reads *καὶ νῦν. μοι* here makes it likely that *δέ μοι* (DGL) rather than *δ'ἐμοὶ* (R with ACEH) was the division intended in line 73.

78 *μαιμωσι*: so DE; *μαιμώωσιν ἐμοὶ* G, *μαιμῶσιν καί* cet., R.

και σφιν [αχος κατα θυμον εγιγνετο δερκομενοισι
τρωας· τ[οι μεγα τειχος υπερκατεβησαν ομειλωι

* * * * * *

Col. V.

[ηυσεν δε διαπρυσιον τρωεσσι γεγω]νως·
[τρωες και λυκιοι και δαρδανοι αγχιμ]αχηται
[παρμενετ ου τοι δηρον εμε σχησουσι]ν αχαιοι
[και μαλα πυργηδον σφεας αυτους αρτ]υναντες·
[αλλ οιω χασσονται υπ εγχεος ει ετεο]ν με
[ωρσε θεων ωριστος εριγδουπος ποσι]ς ηρης·
[ως ειπων ωτρυνε μενος και θυμον] εκαστου·
[δηιφοβος δ εν τοισι μεγα φρονεων ε]βεβηκει
[πριαμιδης προσθεν δ εχεν ασπιδα πα]ντοσ εισην
[κουφα ποσι προβιβας και υπασπιδια πρ]οποδιζων·
[μηριονης δ αυτοιο τιτυσκετο δουρι φ]αεινωι
[και βαλεν ουδ αφαμαρτε κατ ασπιδα] παντοσ εισην
[ταυρειην της δ ου τι διηλασεν αλλα πολ]υ πριν
[εν καυλωι εαγη δολιχον δορυ δηιφοβ]ος δε
[ασπιδα ταυρειην σχεθ απο εο δειση] δε θυμωι
[εγχος μηριοναο δαιφρονος αυταρ ο γ ηρ]ως
[αψ εταρων εις εθνος εχαζετο χωσατ]ῳ δ αινως
[αμφοτερον νικης τε και εγχεος ο ξυν]εηκε·
[βη δ ιεναι παρα τε κλισιας και νηας αχαι]ων
[οισομενος δορυ μακρον ο οι κλισιηφι] λελειπτο·
[οι δ αλλοι μαρναντο βοη δ ασβεστος] ορωρει·
[τευκρος δε πρωτος τελαμωνιος ανδρα] κατεκτα
[ιμβριον αιχμητην πολυιππου μεντορος] υιον
[ναιε δε πηδαιον πριν ελθειν υιας αχαι]ων·
[κουρην δε πριαμοιο νοθην εχε μηδε]σικαστη[ν
[αυταρ επει δαναων νεες ηλυθον αμφ]ιελισσαι
[αψ εις ιλιον ηλθε μετεπρεπε δε τρωεσ]σι·
[ναιε δε παρ πριαμωι ο δε μιν τιε ισα τ]εκεσσι·
[τον ρ υιος τελαμωνος υπ ουατος εγχ]ει μακρωι
[νυξ εκ δ εσπασεν εγχος ο δ αυτ επεσε]ν μελιη ως·
[η τ ορεος κορυφηι εκαθεν περιφαιν]ομενοιο

165 χωσατ]ῳ: the scant vestiges of the last letter really suit ε or θ better than ο, which must have been badly formed.

166 (?) ξυν]εηκε: ξυνέαξε MSS, ξυνέηξε Zenodotus, cf. Schol. N. 257.

[χαλκωι ταμνομενη τερενα χθονι] φυλλα πελασσηι·
[ως πεσεν αμφι δε οι βραχε τευχεα ποι]κιλα χαλκωι·
[τευκρος δ ωρμηθη μεμαως απο τευχ]εα δυσαι·
[εκτωρ δ ορμηθεντος ακουτισε δου]ρι φαεινωι·
[αλλ ο μεν αντα ιδων ηλευατο χαλκε]ον εγχος
[τυτθον ο δ αμφιμαχον κτεατου υι ακτ]οριωνος
[νισσομενον πολεμον δε κατα στηθ]ος βαλε δουρι·

Col. VI.

δουπησεν δε πε[σων αρα]β[η]σε [δε τευχε επ α]υτωι·
εκτωρ [δ ω]ρμηθη κ[ορυθα κρο]ταφο[ις αραρυιαν]
κρατο[ς] αφαρπαξαι μεγ[αλη]τορος [αμφιμαχο]ιο·
αιας δ ορμηθεντος ορεξατο δου[ρι φαεινωι]
εκτο[ρο]ς· αλλ ου πηι χρόος [εισατο πας δ αρ]α χαλκωι
σμερ[δα]λεωι κεκάλυπτ [ο δ αρ ασπιδος ο]μφαλον ουτα·
ωσε δ[ε] μιν σθενεϊ με[γαλωι ο δε χασ]σατ οπισσω
νεκ[ρω]ν αμφοτερων· τ[ους δ εξειρυσσ]αν αχαιοι·
αμφ[ιμ]αχον μεν αρα σ[τιχιος διος τε] μενεσθευς
αρχοι αθηναιων κομι[σαν μετα λαο]ν αχαιων·
Β ιμβριον αυτ αιαντε μεμ[αοτε θουριδος] αλκης·
ως [τ]ε δυ αιγα λεοντε κυ[νων υπο καρχ]αροδοντων
αρπαξαντε φερητον αν[α ρωπηινα πυκ]να
υψου υπερ γαιης μετα γα[μφηλησιν εχον]τε·
ως ρα τον υψου εχοντε [δυω αιαντε κο]ρυστα
[τ]ευ[χ]εα συλητην κεφαλ[ην] δ [απαλης απ]ο δειρης
[κοψε]ν οιλιαδης κεχολωμενο[ς αμ]φιμαχοιο·
[ηκε] δε μιν σφαιρηδον ελ[ιξα]με[νο]ς δι ομειλου·
[εκτο]ρ[ι] δε προ[α]ροιθε ποδων πε[σ]εν εν κονιησι·
και τοτε δη περι κηρι ποσιδαων ε[χ]ολω[θ]η
υιωνοιο πεσοντος εν αι[νηι δ]ηι[ο]τητι
βη δ ιεναι παρα τε κλισιας κ[αι νη]ας αχαιων

191 *χρόος*: the accent is probably not due to the original scribe; other instances of subsequent accentuation occur in 227, 234, 255, 267, 386. The stroke through the top of the second *κ* of *κεκαλυπτ* in line 192 seems to be a misplaced accent.

193 *σθενεϊ*: cf. 226, 238, 241, 544.

198 The sign placed by a later hand between lines 197 and 198 appears to mean that the marginal B, which marks the 200th line, should be placed opposite line 198.

204 *ομειλο[υ*: this is the regular spelling in this papyrus, cf. 307, 332, 338, 459; *ὁμίλου* R with MSS.

206 *ποσιδαων*: so Syr., and A as a rule. Here however A has *ποσειδάων* which R reads.

οτρυνεων δαναους· τρω[εσσι δε] κ[η]δεα τευχε[ν
ιδομενευς δ αρα οι δουρ[ι κ]λυτος α[ν]τεβο[λησεν
ερχομενος παρ εταιρου [ο] οι νεο[ν] εκ πο[λεμοιο
ηλθε κατ ιγνυην βεβλημενος οξει χ[αλκωι
τον μεν εταιροι ενεικαν [ο δ ιητροις επιτ]ειλας
ηιεν ες κλισιην ετι γαρ πο[λεμοιο μενοι]να
αντ[ια]αν· τον δε προσεφ[η κρειων ενοσι]χθων
ισαμενος φθογγην ανδρ[αιμονος υιι θοαν]τι
ο[ς] πασηι [π]λευρωνι και [αιπεινηι καλυδ]ωνι
αιτωλοισιν ανασσε θε[ος δ ως τιετ]ο δ[η]μωι·
ιδομενευ κρητ[ων] βου[ληφορε που τοι απε]ιλαι
ο[ι]χονται τας τ[ρ]ωσιν [απειλεον υιες αχαι]ων·
τον δ αυτ ιδομενευς [κρητων αγος αντιον] ηυδα·
ω θοαν ου τις ανηρ ν[υν γ αιτιος οσσον εγω γε
γινωσκω [π]αντες γαρ [επισταμεθα πτολεμιζ]ειν·
ουτε τινα δεος ισχ[ει ακηριον ουτε τις οκνωι

Col. VII.

εικων ανδ[υε]ται πολεμον κακον· αλλα που ουτω
μελλει δη φ[ι]λον ειναι υπερμενεϊ κρονιωνι
νωνυμνου[ς] απολεσθαι απ αργεος ενθάδ' αχαιους
αλλα θοαν και γαρ το παρος μενεδηιος ησθα
οτρυνεις δε και αλλον οθι μεθιεντα ιδηιαι
τω νυν μητ αποληγε κελευε δε φωτι εκαστωι·
τον δ ημειβετ επειτα ποσιδαων ενοσιχθων·
ιδομενευ μη κεινος ανηρ ετι νοστησειεν
εκ τροιης αλλ αυθι κυνων με[λ]πηθρα γενοιτο
ος κεν επ ηματι τῶιδε [ε]κων μεθιησι μαχεσθαι
αλλ αγε τευχεα δευρο λα[βω]ν ιθι ταυτα δ αμα χρη
σπευδειν α[ι] κ οφελος τι γ[εν]ωμεθα και δυ εοντε
συμφερτη δ αρετη πελει [α]νδρων και μαλα λυγρων·
νωϊ δε και κ' αγαθοισιν επ[ι]σταιμεσθα μαχεσθαι·

209 *κηδεα τευχε[ν*: a new variant; cf. 412, 651.

216 *ισ[αμ]ενος*: *εἰσάμενος* R with MSS.

223 *γινωσκω*: so the best MSS; *γιγνώσκω* R with GL. Cf. 284.

227 *ενθάδ'*: cf. 191 and note; other marks of elision, which like the accents are subsequent additions, occur in lines 238 and 481.

229 *ιδηιαι*: the spelling is peculiar to the papyrus.

230 *δε*: so H Syr. *τε* cet. and R.

234 *κεν*: *τις* MSS and R.

ως ειπων ο μεν αυτις εβη θεος αν πονον ανδρων
ιδομενευς δ οτε δη κλισιην ευτυκτον ικανε
δυσετο τευχεα καλα περι χροι· γεντο δε δουρε
βη δ ιμεν αστεροπηι εν[αλι]γκιος ην τε κρονιων
χειρι λαβων ετιναξεν απ αιγληεντος ολυμπου
δεικνυς σημα βροτοισιν· αρ[ι]ζηλοι δε οι αυγαι·
ως του χαλκος ελαμπεν ενι [σ]τηθεσσι θεοντος
μηριονης δ αρα οι θεραπων ευς αντεβολησεν
εγγυς ετι κλισιης· μετα γαρ δορυ χαλκεον ηει
υισομενος· τον [δ]ε προσεφη σθενος ιδομενηος·
μηριονη μολο[υ] νιου ποδας ταχυ· φιλταθ εταιρων
τιπτ ηλθες πολε[μ]ον τε λιπων και δηιοτητα
ηε τι βεβλη[ει] βελ[ε]ος δε σε τειρει ακωκη
ηε τευ αγγελιης μετ εμ ηλυθες ουδε τω αυτος
ησθαι ενι κλισιησι λιλαιομάι· αλλα μαχεσθαι·
τον δ [αυ μηρι]ονης πεπνυμενος αντιον ηυδα
ερχομ[α]ι ε[ι τ]ι τοι εγχος ενι κλισιησι λελειπται
οισομενος το νυ γαρ κατεαξαμεν ο πριν εχεσκον
ασπιδα δηιφοβοιο βαλων υπερηνορεοντος·
το[ν] δ αυτ ιδομενευς κρητων αγος αντιον ηυδα·
δουρατα δ α[ι] κ εθελησθα· και ἔν και εικοσι δηεις
εσταοτ εν κλισιηι προς ενωπια παμφανοωντα
τρωια τα κταμενων αποαιν[υ]μαι ου γαρ οιω
ανδ[ρων δ]υσμενεων εκα[ς ιστ]αμενοι πτολεμιζειν

Col. VIII.

α
τω μο[ι δουρατ]α τ εστι και ασπιδες ομφαλοεσσα[ι
και κ[ορυθες κ]αι θωρηκες λαμπρον γανοωντες·
τον [δ αυ μηριο]νης πεπνυμενος αντιον ηυδα·

239 αν: ἀν πόνον Lips. Vrat. b, ἀμπόνον other MSS, ἄμ πόνον R.

249 υιου: a mistake for υιε due no doubt to the preceding μολου.

252 τω for τοι seems to be a mere scribe's blunder: the mistake is a particularly easy one.

The MSS agree with the papyrus in excluding l. 255, Ἰδομενεῦ Κρητῶν βουληφόρε καλκοχιτώνων, from their texts, though it has been entered by later hands in the margin of most of them. R brackets it.

260 An acute-angled rough breathing has been added by a later hand over εν; cf. 375.

263 ισταμενοι: so L; ἱστάμενος cet. and R.

264 The mysterious α written above σ of εστι is by a later cursive hand, probably identical with that of the correction in line 269.

266 The dot over the τ of τον does not look like an accident, and if not,

καί τ[οι εμοι παρα] τε κλισιηι και νηι μελαινηι
πολλ [εναρα] τρωων αλλ ου σχεδον εστιν ελεσθ[αι
ος εμμεναι
ουδε [γα]ρ [ουδ] εμε φημι λελασμεναι αλκης
270 αλλα μετα π[ρ]ωτοισι μαχην ανα κυδιανειραν
ισταμαι οπ[πο]τε νεικος ορωρηται πολεμοιο
αλλον που τινα μαλλον αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνω[ν
ληθω μαρναμενος σε δε ιδμεναι αυτον οιω·
τον δ αυτ ιδομενευς κρητων αγος αντιον ηυ[δα
οιδ αρετην [ο]ιος εσσι· τι σε χρη ταυτα λεγεσθαι
ει γαρ νυν παρα νηυσι λεγοιμεθα παντες αρισ[τοι
ες λοχον ενθα μαλιστ αρετη διαειδεται αν[δρων
ενθ ο τε δειλος ανηρ ος τ αλκιμος εξεφααν[θη
του μεν γαρ τε κακου τρεπεται χρως αλλυδις αλ[ληι
280 ουδε οι ατρεμας ησθαι ερητυετ εν φρεσι θυμ[ος
αλλα μετοκλαζει και επ αμφοτερους ποδας ιζει
εν δε [τε] οι κραδιη μεγαλα στερνοισι πατασσει
κηρας [οι]ομενωι· παταγος δε τε γινετ οδοντων
του δ αγαθου ουτ αρ [τρε]πεται χρως [ου]τε τι λέιην
ταρβει επειδαν πρω[τ]ον εσιζηται [λο]χον ανδρων
αράται δε ταχιστα μ[ιγη]μεναι εν δαϊ λυγρηι·
ουδε κεν ενθα τεο[ν γ]ε μενος και χειρας ονο[ιτο
ειπερ γαρ και βλειο πονευμενος ηε τυπειηις
ουκ αν [ε]ν αυχεν οπισθε πεσο[ι] βελος ουδ ενι νω[τωι
290 αλλα κ[εν] η στε[ρ]νων η νηδυος [α]ντιασειεν
προσσω [ιεμενοι]ο [μ]ετα προμαχων οαριστυν
αλλ αγε [μηκετι τ]αυτα λεγωμεθα νηπυτιοι ως
εσταοτ[ες μη που τι]ς υπερφιαλως νεμεσησηι·
αλλα συ [γε κλισιην] δε κιων ελευ οβριμον εγχος
ως φατ[ο μηριονη]ς δε θοωι ατα[λα]ντος αρηι·

it should signify that the letter is to be deleted, as in line 284.

269 The correction is written in a small cursive hand, which I should assign to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. The mistake was of course due to the recurrence of *μεν*.

270 *ανα*: the first *α* has been converted by the scribe from *σ* or *ε*.

283 *γινετ*: *γίγνετ'* R with L only. Cf. 223.

284 *λειην*: *ε* is deleted by the dot placed over it; *λίην* MSS.

288 *και*: so L Vrat. b. d. *γάρ κἄι* H; *κε* cet. and R.

*τυπειηις*: for the obtrusion of the iota adscript cf. 229, 343, 394, 405, xiv. 336, 400.

290 *αντιασειεν*: *ἀντιάσειε* R with ACEGH.

καρπαλ[ιμως κλ]ισ[ι]ηθεν ανειλετο χαλκεον εγχος
βη δε με[τ ιδομε]νηα μεγα πτολεμοιο μεμηλως·
οιος δε β[ροτολοιγ]ο[ς] αρης πολεμον δε μετεισι
τωι δε φ[οβος φιλ]ος υιος αμα κρατερος και αταρβης
εσπετο· [ος τ εφοβ]ησε ταλαφρονα περ πολεμιστην
τω μεν [αρ εκ θρ]η[ι]κης εφυρου· μετα θωρησσεσθον

Col. IX.

ηε μετα φλεγυας μεγαληторας ουδ αρα τω γε
εκλυον αμφοτερων ετεροισι δε κυδος εδωκαν·
τοιοι μηριονης τε και ιδομενευς αγοι ανδρων
ησαν ες πολεμον κεκορυθμενοι αιθοπι χαλκωι·
τον και μηριονης προτερος προς μυθον εειπεν·
δευκαλιδη πηι τ αρ μεμονας καταδυναι ομειλον
η επι δεξιοφιν παντος στρατου η ανα μεσσους
η επ αριστεροφιν· επει ου πωθι ελπομαι ουτως
δενεσθαι πολεμοιο καρη κομοωντας αχαιους·
τον δ αυτ ιδομενευς κρητων αγος αντιον ηυδα·
νηυσι μεν εν μεσσηισιν αμυνειν εισι και αλλοι
αιαντες τε δυω τευκρος θ ος αριστος αχαιων
τοξοσυνηι· αγαθος δε και εν σταδιηι υσμινηι·
ο[ι] μιν αδην ελοωσι και εσσυμενον πολεμοιο
αιπυ οι εσσειται μαλα περ μεμαωτι μαχεσθαι
κεινω νικησαντι μενος και χειρας ααπτους·
νηας ενιπρησαι οτε μη αυτος γε κρονιων
εμβαλοι αιθομενον δαλον νηεσσι θοησιν·
ανδρι δε κ ουκ ειξειε μεγας τελαμωνιος αιας
ος θνητος τ ειηι κ[αι ε]δοι δημητερος ακτην

301 *εφυρου*·: *ἐφύρους* MSS. The mistake seems to be indicated by the point after *υ*. It is just possible that this may be a vestige of an overwritten *σ*, the rest of which has disappeared. But as the surface seems to be intact I do not think this probable. The second *σ* of *θωρησσεσθον* is deleted by a dot placed above it; cf. 285. *θωρήσεσθον* is the spelling of GHL Apoll. Soph. 80, 12.

305 The final letters in this and the following two lines, *αλκωι*, *πεν* and *ν* have been rewritten by another hand; cf. xiv. 141, 142.

306 *εειπεν*; *ἔειπε* R with ACGH.

309 *πωθι*: a mistake for *ποθι*.

*ουτως*: so vulg.; *οὕτω* R with ADE GHL Apoll. Soph. 58, 1.

316 This line, *Ἕκτορα Πριαμίδην, καὶ εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐστιν*, which is bracketed by R, is omitted by the papyrus in common with ACD. It is found in the margins of EGHLS Townl.

χ[α]λκωι τε ρηκτος μεγαλοισι τε χερμαδιοισιν
ο[υ]δ αν αχιλληι ρηξ[η]νορι χωρησειεν
εν γ αυτοσ[τα]διηι ποσι δ ου πως εστιν εριζειν·
νωιν δ ωδ επ αριστερ εχε στρατου οφρα ταχιστα
ειδομεν ηε τω ι ευ[χ]ος ορεξομεν ηε και ημιν
ως φατο· μηριονης [δ]ε θοωι αταλαντος αρηι
ηρχ ιμεν οφ[ρ] αφικοντο κατα στρατον ηι μ[ιν ανωγ]ει·
[οι] δ ως [ιδομενηα ιδο]ν φλογι ικελ[ο]ν αλ[κην
αυ[τον] και θ[εραπο]ντα συν εντεσι δαιδαλεοισι
κε[κλο]μεν[οι καθ] ομειλον επ αυτωι παντες εβησαν·
τω[ν δ] ομον [ισ]τα[το] νεικος επι πρυμνηισι νεεσσιν·
ως δ οθ υπο λι[γ]εων ανεμων σπερχωσιν [α]ε[λ]λ[αι
ηματ[ι] τωι οτε τε πλειστη κονις αμφι κελευσθους
οι τ αμυδις κο[ν]ιης μεγαλην ιστα[σιν] ομιχλην
ως αρα [τ]ων ομοσ ηλθε μαχη μεμασαν δ ενι θυ[μ]ωι
αλληλους καθ ομειλον αναιρεμεν οξει χαλ[κ]ωι
εφριξεν δε μαχη φθεισιμβροτος εγχεινισι
μακρηις ας ειχον ταμεσιχροας· οσσε δ αμερδεν
αυγη χαλκειη κορυθων υπο λαμπομεν[αω]ν

Col. X.

θωρκων η τε νεοσμηκτων σακεων τε φαεινων
ερχομενων αμυδις μαλα κεν θρασυκαρδιος ειηι·
ως τοτε γηθησειεν ιδων πονον ουδ ακαχοιτο
τω δ αμφις φρονεοντε δυω κρονου υιε κραταιω
ανδρασιν ηρωεσσι τετευχατον αλγεα λυγρα·
ζευς μεν αρα τρωεσσι και εκτορι βουλετο νικην
κυδαινων αχιληα ποδας ταχυν· ουδ[ε τι] παμπαν

327 τώ: the correction may be by the first hand.

και: τις MSS.

330 ικελον: ἴκελον H, εἴκελον cet., R.

335 τε was added by the same hand that made the correction in l. 269.

κελευσθους or κελευθοους was apparently written by mistake for κελευθους.

339 φθεισιμβροτος: φθισ. R with MSS.

342 The correction is by the original scribe.

343 κεν: so C; κε cet. and R.

ειηι: εἴη MSS.

344 ως: a mistake for ος.

346 ηρωεσσι τετευχατον: so CEH Townl.; τετεύχετον ADL Cram. Ep. 397, 15, τετεύχατο GS. ἠρώεσσιν ἐτεύχετον R, following Schol. K 364.

347 αρα, R ῥα with AC and Aristarchus (Didymus).

348 A vestige of the letter following

ηθ[ε]λε λα[ο]ν ολεσσαι αχαιικον ιλιο[θ]ι προ
αλλ[α] θετιν κυδαινε και υιεα καρτε[ρ]οθυμον·
αργε[ι]ους δε ποσιδαων οροθυνε μ̣ετελθων
λαθρηι υπεξαναδυς πολιης αλος ηχθετο γαρ ρα
τρωσιν δαμναμενους· δι̣ι δε κ[ρατερως ε]νεμεσσα·
η μαν αμφοτεροισι ομον γεν[ος ηδ ια πα]τρη·
αλλα ζευς προτερος γεγονει κ[αι πλειον]α ηιδει·
τω ρα και αμφαδιη̈ μεν αλε[ξεμεναι αλεεινε·
λαθρηι δ αιεν εγειρε κατα στρ[ατον ανδρ]ι εοικως·
οι δ εριδος κρατερη[ς] και ομοιιου π̣τ[ολε]μοιο
πειραρ επαλλαξαντες επ αμφοτερο[ισι] τανυσσαν
αρρηκτον αλυτον τε το πολλων γου[νατ] ελυσεν·
ενθα μεσαιπολιος περ εων δαναοισ[ι] κελευσας
ιδομενευς τρωεσσιν επαλμενος εν φοβον ωρσε·
πεφνε γα[ρ] οθρυονηα καβησοθεν ενδον [εο]ντα
ος ρα νεον πολεμοιο μετα κλεος ειληλουθε̣ι
ηιτεε δε πριαμοιο θυγατρωων ειδος αριστην
κασσανδρ̣ην αναεδνον· υπεσχετο δ[ε] μεγα εργον
εκ τροιης αεκοντ[ας α]πωσεμ[εν] υια[ς α]χαιων·
[τωι δ ο] γερων πριαμος υπο τ εσχετο και κατενευσε
[δωσε]μεναι· ο δε μαρναθ υποσχεσιησι πιθησας·
ιδομενευς δ αυτοιο τιτυσκετο δουρι φαεινωι
και βαλεν υψι βιβαντα τυχων· ουδ ηρκεσε θωρηξ

ουδ is preserved, but it suits ε and ο equally well, and therefore does not help in deciding between the variants *οὐδέ τι* and *οὐδ' ὄγε*.

349 *ολεσσαι*: so CH; *ὀλέσθαι* cet. and R.

351 *ποσιδαων*: this is the regular spelling of this papyrus and of A, as *Ποσειδάων* is of R. I do not notice it where it occurs elsewhere.

354 *αμφοτεροισι*: *ἀμφοτέροισιν* MSS and R.

355 *ηιδει*: so CG Mor. Barocc. Pseudopl. 131, 28; *ᾔδη* R with ADE, *ηδη* Syr., *ᾖδῃ* HL.

356 *αμφαδιη̈*: the dot above ν was I think placed there by a later hand. *ἀμφαδίη* CHS Lips. Vrat. d., *ἀμφαδίῃ* AE 936, 55; 64. G. *ἀμφαδίην* R, as in H 196 ε 120.

*αλεεινε*: so ACDGL Syr.; *ἀλέεινεν* R.

358 *οι*: so D, *τὼ* L, *ειδεριδος* Syr., *τοί* R with cet. and Aristophanes (Didymus).

*π̣τ[ολε]μοιο*: the cross-stroke of the τ is gone, but there is no doubt as to the reading. *πτολέμοιο* is found in DHS Lips. Flor.; *πολέμοιο* cet. and R.

360 The omission of *τ'* after *ἄρρηκτον* is peculiar to the papyrus.

362 *τρωεσσιν επαλμενος*: *τρώεσσι μετάλμενος* R with MSS; "*ἐν ἄλλῳ τρώεσσιν ἐπάλμενος*" A.

365 *θυγατρωων*: the repetition of ω is a slip.

χαλκεος ου φορεεσκε· μεσηι δ εν γαστερι πηξε·
δουπησεν δε πεσων· ο δ επευξατο φωνησεν τε·
οθρυονευ· ᾗπερι δη σε βροτων αινιζομ απαντων
ει ετον δη παντα τελευτησεις οσ ὕπεστης
δαρδανιδη[ι] πριαμωι ο δ υπεσχετο θυγατερα ην
και κε τοι ημεις ταυτα γ υπισχομενοι τελεσαιμεν·
δοιμεν δ ατρειδαο θυγατρων ειδος αριστην
αργεος εξαγαγοντες οπυιεμεν αι κε συν αμμιν

Col. XI.

ιλιον εκπερσηις ευ ναιομενον πτολιεθ[ρον
αλλα επευ οφρ επι νηυσι συνωμεθ[α] πυντοπ[οροισιν
αμφι γαμωι· επει ου τοι εεδνῳ[ται] κᾰκ[οι ειμεν
ως ειπων ποδος ειλκε κατα [κρατερην υσμινην
ηρως ιδομενευς· τωι δ ασιο[ς ηλθεν αμυντωρ
πεζος προσθ ιππων· τῶ δε πνε[ιοντε κατ ωμων
αιεν εχ ηνιοχος θεραπων· ᾧ δ[ε ιετο θυμωι
ιδομενηα βαλειν· ο δε μι[ν φθαμενος βαλε δουρι
λαιμον υπ ανθερεωνα· δια προ [δε χαλκον ελασσεν
ηριπε δ ως οτε τις δρυς ηριπε[ν η αχερ]ῳ[ις
ηε πιτυς βλωθρ[η τη]ν τ ουρεσι τεκ[το]νες [α]νδρ[ες]·
εξεταμον πελεκεσ[σ]ι [νεη]κ[εσι] νῐ[ηι]ον ειναι·
ως ο προσθ ιππων και διφρου κει[τ]ο τανυσθεις
βεβρυχως κο[νιος] δεδραγμενο[ς αι]ματοεσσης·
εκ δε οι ηνιοχος πληγηι φρενας ας [παρ]ος ειχεν·
ουδ ο γ ετολμησεν δηιων υπο χειρ[ας αλ]υξας
αψ ιππους στρεψαι· τον δ αντιλοχ[ος μενεχαρ]μης
δουρι μεσον περονησε τυχων· ου[δ ηρκεσε θωρηξ
χαλκεος ου φ[ορ]εεσκε· μεση[ι] δ εν [γαστερι πηξεν
αυταρ ο γ ασθμ[αιν]ων ευεργεος εκ[πεσε διφρου
ιππους δ αντ[ιλ]οχος μεγαθυμου ν[εστορος υιος
εξελασε τρωων μετ ευκνημιδα[ς αχαιους
δηιφοβος δε μαλα σχεδον ηλυθ[εν ιδομενηος

375 ετον is a mistake for ετεον.

For the subsequent addition of the rough breathing to υπεστης cf. 260.

377 υπισχομενοι: a mistake for υποσχομενοι.

379 αι: so Vrat. d., εἰ cet. and R.

383 ειλκε: so MSS; ἕλκε R.

394 πληγηι: πλήγῃ MSS, R.

397 Two small dots above and below χ of τυχων seem to be meaningless.

401 There is an apparently accidental dot over the right limb of κ in ευκνημιδα[ς; cf. 397.

ασιου αχνυμενος και ακοντισε δ[ουρι φαεινωι
αλλ ο μεν αν[τ]α ιδων ηλευατο χα[λκεον εγχος
ιδομ[ε]νε[υς κρυ]φθηι γαρ υπ ασπιδι παντοσ ε[ισηι
τ[η]ν αρ [ο γε ρινοι]σι βοων και νωροπι χαλκωι
Δ δινωτ[ην φορεε]σκε δυω κανονεσ αραρυιαν[
τηι ρ υ[πο πας εαλη] το δ υπερπτατο χαλκεον εγ[χος
καρφαλε[ον] δε οι ασπις επιθρεξαντος αυσεν·
εγχεος ου[δ] αλιον ρα βαρειης χειρος αφηκεν·
αλλ εβαλ ιππασιδην υψηνορα ποιμενα λαων
ηπαρ υπο πραπιδων [ε]ιθαρ δ υπο γουνατα λυσεν
δηιφο[βος δ] εκπα[γ]λον επευξατο μακρον αυσα[ς
ου μαν αυ[τ α]τιτος κειτ ασιος· αλλα ε φημι
εις αι[δος περ ιον]τα πυλαρταο κρατεροιο
γηθη[σειν κατα θ]υμον επει ρα οι ωπασα πομπον
ως εφ[ατ αργειοι]σι δ αχος γενετ ευξαμενοιο

Col. XII.

[αντιλοχωι δε μα]λιστα δαιφρονι θυμον ορεινεν·
[αλλ ουδ αχνυμε]νος περ εου αμελησεν εταιρου
[αλλα θεων περιβ]η και οι σακος αμφεκαλυψε·
[τον μεν επει]θ υποδυντε δυω εριηρες εταιροι
[μηκιστευς εχιοι]ο παις και διος αλαστωρ
[νηας επι γλαφυρ]ας φερετην βαρεα σ[τεναχοντε
[ιδομενευς δ ου λ]ηγε μενο[ς μ]εγα· ιε[τ]ο δ [αιει
[ηε τινα τρωων ερεβε]ν[νηι νυκτι καλυψαι
[
[
[
[
[την περι κηρι φιλησε π]ατηρ [και ποτνια μητηρ
[εν μεγαρωι πασαν γ]αρ ομηλικιην [εκεκαστο
κ[αλλει και εργοισιν ι]δε φρεσι· τουν[εκα και μιν
γ[ημεν ανηρ ωριστ]ος εν[ι] τροιηι ευ[ρειηι

405 κρυφθηι; κρύφθη MSS, R.

407 The Δ in the margin should have been placed opposite line 404.

κανονεσ was mistakenly written for κανονεσσ.

408 τηι ρ: the reading is peculiar to the papyrus; τῇ R with most MSS, τὴν D, τῇ δ' Vrat. d.

412 γουνατα λυσεν: ἔλυσε ACG, cet. ἔλυσεν; γούνατ' ἔλυσε R.

418 ορεινεν: the regular spelling in this MS; cf. 468, xiv. 459. I do not notice it again as a variant. ὄρινεν R.

τ[ον τοθ υπ ιδομ]ενηι ποσιδαω[ν εδαμασσε
[θελξας οσσε φαεινα] πεδη[σε δ]ε φ[αιδιμα γυια
[ουτε γαρ εξοπισω φυγεε]ιν δ[υνατ ουτ αλεασθαι

* * * * * *

Col. XIII.

[η τινα που τρ]ωων εταρισσαιτο μ[ε]γαθυμων
[αψ αναχωρησ]ας η πειρησαιτο και οιος·
[ωδε δε οι φρο]νεοντι δοασσατο κερδιον ειν[αι
[βηναι επ αινε]ιαν τον δ υστατον ευρεν ομε[ιλου
[εσταοτ αιει γαρ] πριαμωι επεμηνιε διωι
[ουνεκ αρ εσθλον] εοντα μετ ανδρασιν ου τι τιεσκεν
[αγχου δ ισταμενο]ς επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα·
[αινεια τρωων βουλη]φορε· νυν σε μαλα χρη
[γαμβρωι αμυνεμεν]αι ει περ τ[ι] σε κηδος ικανει·
[αλλ επευ αλκαθοω ε]παμυνομεν ος σε παρος γε
[γαμβρος εων εθρεψ]ε δομοις ενι τυτθον εοντα·
[τον τε τοι ιδομεν]ε[υς] δουρικλυτος εξεναριξεν·
[ως φατο τωι δ α]ρα θυμον ενι στηθεσσιν ορεινε·
[βη δε με]τ ιδομενηα μεγα πτολεμοιο μεμηλως·
[αλλ ουκ ιδ]ομενηα φοβος λαβε τηλυγετον ως
[αλλ εμεν ω]ς οτε τις συς ουρεσιν αλκι πεποιθως
[ος τε μενει] κολοσυρτον επερχομενον πολυν ανδρων
[χωρωι εν οιοπολ]ωι φρισσει δε τε νωτον υπερθεν
[οφθαλ]μω δ αρα οι πυρι λαμπ[ε]τον· αυταρ υδοντας
[θηγει αλ]εξασθαι μεμαως κυνας ηδε και ανδρας
[ως μεν]εν ιδομενευς δουρικλυτος ουδ ὑπεχωρ[ει
[αινειαν] επ[ι]οντα βοηθοον αυε δ εταιρους
[ασκαλα]φον τ εσορων αφαρηα τε δηιπυρον [τε
[μηριον]ην τε και αντιλοχον μηστωρας αυτης
[δευτε φιλ]οι και μ᾽ οιωι αμυνετε δειδια δ αινως

461 The first ε of τιεσκεν was converted by the original hand from a straight vertical stroke.

468 The first ε of ορεινε was converted from an original ι.

469 A dot over μ of μεγα seems to be accidental.

476 I can attach no meaning to the two small dots above ο of ουδ. For the breathing added to υπεχωρει cf. 260, 375.

480 The papyrus stands alone in the omission of this line, τοὺς ὅ γ᾽ ἐποτρύνων ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. It is not however necessary to the sense of the passage.

481 For the mark of elision cf. 227.

[αινειαν] επιοντα ποδας ταχυν ος μοι επεισιν
[ος μαλα κ]αρτερος εσσι μαχηι ενι φωτας εναιρειν·
[και δ εχει] ηβης ανθος ο τε κ[ρα]τος ανδρι μεγιστον·
[ει γαρ ομη]λικιηι γε γενοιμεθα τωιδ ενι θυμωι
[αιψα κεν] ηε φεροιτο μεγα κρατος η κε φεροιμην·
[ως εφαθ ο]ι δ αρα παντες ενα φρεσι θυμον εχοντες
[πλησιοι ε]στησαν σακε ωμοισιν κλιναντες·
[αινειας δ] ετερωθεν εκεκλετο οις εταροισιν·
490 [δηιφοβον] τε παριν τ εσοροων και αγηνορα διον
[οι οι αμ ηγε]μονες τρωων εσαν· αυταρ επειτα
[λαοι επον]θ ως ει τε μετα κτιλον εσπετο μηλα
[πιομεν εκ βοτανης γανυτ]αι δ αρα τε φρενα ποιμην·
[ως αινειαι θυμος ενι στηθεσ]σι γεγηθει
[ως ιδε λαων εθνος επισπο]μενον εοι αυτωι·

Col. XIV.

[οι δ αμφ αλκαθοωι αυ]τοσχεδον ωρμηθησαν
[μακροισι ξυστοισι περ]ι στηθεσσι δε χαλκος
[σμερδαλεον κοναβιζ]ε τιτυσκομενων καθ ομε[ιλον
[αλληλων δυο δ ανδρες] αρηιοι εξοχον αλλων
500 [αινειας τε και ιδομεν]ευς αταλαντοι αρηι
[ιεντ αλληλων ταμεειν] χροα νηλει χαλκωι·
[αινειας δε πρωτος ακ]οντισεν ιδομενηος·
[αλλ ο με]ν [αντα ιδων η]λευατο χαλκεον εγχος·
[αιχμη] δ αινειαο [κραδα]ινομενη κατα γαιης
ωιχ[ε]τ επει ρ αλ[ιον στι]βαρης απο χειρος ορουσεν·
[ι]δομενευς δ α[ρα οινο]μαον βαλε γαστερα μεσσην
[ρ]ηξε δε θωρηκος γυαλον· δια δ εντερα χαλκος
[η]φυσ· ο δ εν κονιηισι πεσων ελε γαιαν αγοστωι·
[ιδ]ομενευς δ εκ μεν νεκυος δολιχοσκιον εγχος
510 [εσπα]σατ· ουδ αρ ετ αλλα δυνησατο τευχεα καλα

483 *εσσι*: a mistake for *εστι*.

484 *ανδρι*: *ἐστί* MSS, R.

485 The addition of *ι* above the line is due to a later hand. *ὁμηλικίῃ* R with CL Syr. Schol. E 153; *ὁμηλικίῃ* AEGH, *ὁμηλικίην* D. *ενι*: so DCEGH LS Schol. E 153. *ἐπί* R.

486 *η κε*: so Syr. *ἠέ* cet., R.

488 *ωμοισιν*: *ὤμοισι* R with MSS.

489 *εταροισιν*: *ἑτάροισι* R with ACG Syr.

490 *εσοροων*: a mistaken spelling for *εσορων*.

493 *γανυται*: as in line 485 the correction is by a later hand.

[ωμοι]ιν αφελεσθαι επειγετο γαρ βελεεσσιν·
[ου γα]ρ ετ εμπεδα γυια ποδων ην ορμηθεντι·
[ουτ αρ επ]αιξαι μεθ εον βελος ουτ αλεασθαι·
[τω ρα] και εν σταδιηι μεν αμυνετο νηλεες ημαρ
[τρεσσ]αι δ ουκετι ριμφα ποδες φερον εκ πολεμοι[ο
[του δε βα]δη[ν απ]ιοντος ακοντισε δουρι φαεινωι
[δηιφοβο]ς· δη γαρ οι εχεν κοτον εμμενες αιει
[αλλ ο γε κ]αι τοθ αμαρτεν· ο δ ασκαλαφον βαλε δουρι
[υι]ον [εν]υαλιοιο· δι ωμου δ οβριμον εγχος
εσχεν [ο] δ εν κονιηισι πεσων εχε γαιαν αγοστωι·
ουδ αρα πω τι πεπυστο βριηπυος οβριμος αρης
υιος [ε]οιο πεσοντος ενι κρατερηι υσμινηι·
αλλ ο γ αρ ακρωι ολυμπωι υπο χρυσεοισι νεφεσσιν
ηστο διος βουλησιν εελμενος ενθα περ αλλοι
αθανατοι θεοι ησαν εεργομ[ε]νοι πολεμοιο·
οι δ αμφ ασκαλαφωι αυτοσχε[δο]ν ορμηθησαν·
δηιφο[βος μ]ε[ν α]π ασκαλαφο[υ πη]ληκα φαεινην
ηρπασ[ε μηριον]ης δε θοωι α[ταλαν]τος αρηι
δουρι βραχειον[α] τυψεν επαλ[μενο]ς· εκ δ αρα χειρος
αυλωπις τρυφαλεια χαμαι βομβησε πεσουσα·
μηριονης δ εξαυτις επαλμενος αιγυπιος ως
εξερυσε πρυμνοιο βραχειονος οβριμον εγχος
αψ δ εταρων εις εθνος εχαζετο· τον δε πολιτης
αυτοκασιγνητος περι μεσσωι χειρε τιτηνας

Col. XV.

εξηγεν πολεμοιο δυσηχεος οφρ ικεθ ιππους
ωκεας οι οι οπισθε μαχης ηδε πτολεμοιο
εστασαν ηνιοχον τε και αρματα ποικιλ εχοντες·
οι τον γε προτι αστυ φερον βαρεα στεναχοντα
τειρομενον· κατα δ αιμα νεουτατου ερρεε χειρος·
οι δ αλλοι μαρναντο· βοη δ ασβεστος ορωρει·
ενθ αινει[ας] αφαρηα καλητοριδην εποροῦσας
λαιμον τυ[ψ] επι οι τετραμμενον οξει δουρι·

526 *ορμηθησαν*: ο has been converted from ω, I think by the later hand; *ὡρμήθησαν* MSS, R.

529 *βραχειονα*: the word is similarly spelt in line 532; *βραχίονα* MSS and R.

541 *ενθ αινει[ας]*: the second ι is almost certain; so C 2nd hand DEHS Townl. Vrat. b. A. Rom. *ἔνθ' αἰνέας* AC 1st hand L Lips. and R. *αἰνείας δ'* G.

εκλινεν δ ετερωσε καρη· επι δ ασπις εαφθη
και κορυς· αμφι δε οι θανατος χυτω θυμοραϊστης·
αντιλοχος δε θοωνα μεταστρεφθεντα δοκευσας
ουτασ επα[ι]ξας· απο δε φλεβα πασαν εκερσεν
[η] τ ανα νωτα θεουσα διαμπερες αυχεν ικανει·
[τ]ην απο πασαν εκερσεν· ο δ υπτιος εν κονιησι
[κ]αππεσεν αμφω χειρε φιλοις εταροισι πετασσας·
550 [α]ν[τ]ιλοχος δ επορουσε και αινυτο τευχε απ ωμων
παπτα[ι]νων· τρωες δε περισταδον αλλοθεν αλλος
[ου]ταζο[ν] σακος ευρυ παναιολον· ουδε δυναντο
[ει]σω επ[ι]γραψαι τερενα χροα νηλει χαλκωι
[αν]τιλοχ[ο]υ· περι γαρ ρα ποσιδαων ενοσιχθων
[ν]εστορος υιον ερυτο και εν πολλοισι βελεσσιν·
ου μεν γαρ ποτ ανευ δηιων ην· αλλα κατ αυτους
[στ]ρωφατ· ουδε οι εγχος εχ ατρεμας αλλα μαλ αιει
[σ]ειομενον [ελ]ελικτο· τιτυσκετο δε φρεσιν ησιν
[η] τευ ακοντισσαι ηε σχεδον ορμηθηναι·
560 αλλ ου ληθ αδαμαντα τιτυσκομενος καθ ομειλον
ασιαδην ος οι ουτα μεσον σακος οξει χαλκωι
εγγυθεν ορμηθεις· αμενηνωσεν δε οι αιχμην
κυανοχαιτα ποσιδαων βιοτοιο μεγηρας·
[κ]αι το μεν αυτου μεινε ως τε σκωλος πυρικαυστος
[ε]ν σακει αντιλοχοιο· το δ ημισυ κειτ επι γαιηι·
[α]ψ δ εταρων εις εθνος εχαζετο κηρ αλεεινων·
μηριονης δ απιοντα μετασπομενος βαλε δουρι·
αιδοιων τε μεσηγυ και ομφαλου ενθα μαλιστα
γινετ αρης αλεγεινος οιζυροισι βροτοισιν·
570 ενθα οι εγχος επηξεν· ο δ εσπομενος περι δουρι
ησπαιρ ως οτε βους τον τ ουρεσι βουκολοι ανδρες
[ι]λλασιν ουκ εθελοντα βιηι δησαντες αγωσιν

Col. XVI.

ως ο τυπ[εις] ησπαιρ[ε] μ[ι]νυνθα περ ου τι μα[λα δην
οφρα οι ε[κ χ]ροος εγχος ανεσπασατ εγγυθε[ν ελθων

543 εκλινεν: ἐκλίνθη MSS and R.

544 χυτω: for the displacement of ο by ω cf. 309.

561 ος: so ACDGHL; δ R.

564 μεινε: the final ε should have been elided.

565 γαιηι: so CHL Lips. Vrat. d.; γαίης ADEG and R.

569 γινετ: R as usual reads γίγνετ', with L only.

572 αγωσιν: ἄγουσιν R with MSS.

ηρως μη[ριο]νης· τον δε σκοτος οσσε καλυψεν
δηιπυρο[ν δ ε]λενος ξιφει σχεδον ηλασε κορσ[ην
θρηικιω[ι] μεγαλωι· απο δε τρυφαλειαν αραξεν·
η μεν αποπλαγχθεισα χαμαι πεσε και τις αχαιων
μαρναμενων μετα ποσσι κυλινδομενην εκομισσε·
τον δε κατ οφθαλμων ερεβεννη νυξ εκαλυψε·
ατρειδην δ αχος ειλε βοην αγαθον μενελαον·
βη δ επαπειλησας ελε[ν]ωι ηρωι ανακτι
οξυ δορυ κραδαων· ο δε τοξου πηχυν ανειλκεν·
τω δ αρ αμαρτητην ο μεν εγχει οξυοεντι
ιετ ακουτισσαι ο δ απο νευρηφιν οιστωι·
π[ρια]μιδης μεν επειτα κατα στηθος βαλεν ιωι
θωρηκος γυαλον· απο δ επτατο πικρος οιστος·
ως δ οτ απο πλατεος πτυοφιν μεγαλην κατ αλωην
νο
θρωσκωσιν κυαμοι μελαχροες η ερεβινθοι
πνοιηι υπο λιγυρηι και λικμητηρος ερωηι·
ως απο θωρηκος μενελαου κυδαλιμοιο
πολλον αποπλαγχθεις εκας επτατο πικρος οιστος·
ατρε[ιδης δ] αρα χειρα βοην αγαθος μενελαος
την βαλεν ηι ρ εχε τοξον ευξοον· εκ δ αρα τοξου
αντικρυ δια χειρος εληλατο χαλκεον εγχος·
αψ δ εταρων εις εθνος εχαζετο κηρ αλεεινων
χειρα παρακρεμασας· το δ εφελκετο μειλινον εγχος·
και το μεν εκ χειρος ερυσεν μεγαθυμος αγηνωρ·
αυτην δε ξυνεδησεν ευστροφωι οιος αωτωι
σφενδονηι· ην αρα οι θεραπων εχε ποιμενι λαων·
z πεισανδρον δ [ι]θυς μενελαου κυδαλιμοιο

575 καλυψεν: only part of the first stroke of the final ν remains: so D and ἐκάλυψεν L; cet. κάλυψε (so R) or ἐκάλυψε.

580 εκαλυψε: ἐκάλυψεν R with MSS.

583 ανειλκεν: so E; ἀνέλκε L ἄνελκεν A ἀνεῖλκε CDGH. R ἄνελκε.

584 αμαρτητην: ὁμαρτήτην MSS., ὁμαρτήδην R.

589 θρωσκωσιν: so DL; θρῴσκωσιν R with A, θρώσκωσι θρώσκουσιν θρῴσκουσι and θρώσκουσι are other variants. The insertion of the omitted letters νο is by a later hand.

594 εκ δ αρα τοξου: this reading is peculiar to the papyrus; ἐν δ' ἄρα τόξῳ MSS, R.

599 ευστροφωι: so MSS; ἐυστρεφεῖ R, following Aristarchus (Didymus).

601 The omission of lines 602–6 is due to the fact that the last of these also begins Πείσανδρος δέ. The reading πεισανδρον in line 601 is the result of an attempt to mend the construction thus produced. Possibly the emender took ιθυς for the substantive.

ουτασεν· ὀδε δια προ δυνησατο χαλκον ελασσαι
εσχετο γαρ σακος ευρυ· κατεκλασθη δ ενι καυλωι
εγχος· ο δε φρεσιν ησι χαρη και εελπετο νικην
ατρειδης και ερυσσαμενος ξιφος αργυροηλον
αλτ επι πεισανδρωι· ο δ υπ ασπιδος ειλετο καλην
αξεινην ευχαλκον ελαινωι αμφι πελεκκωι
μακρωι ευξεστωι αμα δ αλληλων εφικοντο·
η τοι ο μεν κορυθος φαλον ηλασεν ιπποδασειης
ακρον υπο λοφον αυτον· ο δε προσιοντα μετωπον
ρεινος υπερ πυματης· λακε δ οστεα· τω δε οι οσσε

Col. XVII.

παρ ποσιν αιματ[οεντα χαμαι πεσον εν κονιηισιν
ιδνωθη δε πεσων· ο δε λ[αξ εν στηθεσι βαινων
τευχεα τ εξεναριξεν κα[ι ευχομενος επος ηυδα

λειψετε θην ουτω γε νε[ας δαναων ταχυπωλων
τρωες υπερφιαλοι δειν[ης ακορητοι αυτης
αλλης μεν λωβης τε και αι[σχεος ουκ επιδευεις
ην εμε λωβησασθε κακαι κυνες ουδε τι θ[υμωι
ζηνος εριβρεμετεω χαλεπην εδδεισατε [μηνιν
ξεινιου ος τε ποτ υμμι διαφθερσει πολι[ν αιπην
οι μευ [κουρι]διην αλοχο[ν κ]αι κτηματα πο[λλα
μαψ ο[ι]χ[εσθ] αναγοντες [επ]ει φιλεεσθε παρ [αυ]τηι
νυν α[υτ εν ν]ηυσι μενε[αι]νετε ποντοπο[ρο]ισι
πυρ ο[λοον βα]λεειν κτε[ινα]ι δ ηρωας α[χ]αιους
αλλα π[οθι σχη]σεσθε κα[ι ] εσσυμενοι περ αρηος
ζευ π[ατερ η τε σε φασι περι φρενας] εμμεναι αλλων

607 The correction of *ουδε* is not by the original hand.

608 *εσχετο*: so EHLS; *ἔσχεθε* R, cf. Λ 96 etc.

610 *και*: *δέ* MSS, R. The substitution of *και* is due to the peculiarity of the papyrus in omitting lines 602–6 and reading *πεισανδρον*, which has the effect of making *Ἀτρείδης* the natural subject of *χάρη καὶ ἐέλπετο*.

*αργυροηλον*: the first *ο* has been converted from a straight vertical stroke. Apparently the scribe began to write *η* immediately after *ρ*.

612 *αξεινην*: *ἀξίνην* R with MSS.

619 *εξεναριξεν*: so D; cet. *ἐξενάριξε* (*ἐξενάρηξε* G), so R.

624 *εδδεισατε*; so MSS; *ἐδείσατε* R.

628 *νηυσι*: so DE Lips. Vrat. A; *νηυσίν* cet., R.

630 *κα[ι] εσσυμενοι*: there is room in the lacuna for at least one more letter, possibly two. There may of course have been an erasure, or a flaw in the surface of the papyrus.

ανδρω[ν ηδε θεων σεο δ εκ ταδε παν]τα πελονται
οιον δη [ανδρεσσι χαριζεαι υβριστησι
τρωσι[ν των μενος αιεν ατασθαλον ουδε δυνανται
φυλοπ[ιδος κορεσασθαι ομοιιου πολεμοιο
παντ[ων μεν κορος εστι και υπνου και φιλοτητος
[μο]λπ[ης τε γλυκερης και αμυμονος ορχηθμοιο
των π[ερ τις και μαλλον εελδεται εξ ερον ειναι
η πολε[μου τρωες δε μαχης ακορητοι εασιν
ως ειπω[ν τα μεν εντε απο χροος αιματοεντα
συλησα[ς εταροισι διδου μενελαος αμυμων
αυτος δ [αυτ εξαυτις ιων προμαχοισιν εμιχθη
ενθα οι υιος [ε]π.ιλτο πυλαι[μενεος βασιληος
αρπαλιων ο ρ[α] πατρι φιλωι [επετο πτολεμιξων
ες τροιην ουδ αυτις αφικε[το πατριδα γαιαν
ος ρα τοτ ατρειδαο μεσον σ[ακος ουτασε δουρι
εγγυθεν ουδε διαπρο δυν[ησατο χαλκον ελασσαι
αψ δ εταρων εις εθνος εχα[ζετο κηρ αλεεινων
παντοσε παπταινων μη τ[ις χροα χαλκωι επαυρηι
μηριονης απιοντος ιει χα[λκηρε οιστον
και ρα βαλε γλουτον κατα δεξ[ιον αυταρ οιστος
αντικρυ κατα κυστιν υπ οστ[εον εξεπερησεν
εζομενος δε κατ αυθι φιλω[ν εν χερσιν εταιρων

Col. XVIII.

[
[
[
[ες δι]φρ[ον δ ανεσαντες αγον προτι ιλιον ιρην
[αχν]υμενοι μ[ετα δε σφι πατηρ κιε δακρυα λειβων
[ποιν]η δ ου τις π[αιδος εγιγνετο τεθνηωτος
[του] δε παρις μα[λα θυμον αποκταμενοιο χολωθη
[ξε]ινος γαρ οι ε[ην πολεσιν μετα παφλαγονεσσι
[το]υ ο γε χωομε[νος προιει χαλκηρε οιστον
[η]ν δε τις ευχη[νωρ πολυιδου μαντιος υιος
αφνειος τ αγαθο[ς τε κορινθοθι οικια ναιων
οι ρ ευ ειδως κηρ ολοην [επι νηος εβαινε

650 μηριονης: Μηριόνης δ' R with MSS.

651 ρα βαλε: ρ' ἔβαλε MSS, R.

665 The alteration of οι to ος is due to a later hand.

πολλακ[ι] γαρ οι εειπε γε[ρων αγαθος πολυιδος
νουσωι υπ αργαλεηι φ[θισθαι οις εν μεγαροισιν
η μετ αχαιων χερσιν υπ[ο τρωεσσι δαμηναι (?)
τω ρ αμα τ αργαλεην θωην [αλεεινεν αχαιων
νου[σ]ον τε στυ[γ]ερην ινα μη παθοι αλγεα θυμωι
[τον βαλ υπο] γναθμοιο κ[αι ουατος ωκα δε θυμος
[ωιχετ απο με]λεων σ[τυγερος δ αρα μιν σκοτος ειλεν
[ως οι μεν μαρνα]ν[τ]ο [δεμας πυρος αιθομενοιο
[εκτωρ δ ουκ επε]π[υστο διιφιλος ουδε τι ηιδει

* * * * * *

Col. XX.

* * * * * *

αλλ [αναχασσαμενος καλει ενθαδε παντας αριστους
ε̣ν̣[θεν δ αν μαλα πασαν επιφρασσαιμεθα βουλην
η κεν [ενι νηεσσι πολυκλησι πεσωμεν
ει κ εθ[ελησι θεος δομεναι κρατος η κεν επειτα
παρ νη[ων ελθωμεν απημονες η γαρ εγω γε
δειδω [μη το χθιζον αποστησωνται αχαιοι
χρειος ε[πει παρα νηυσιν ανηρ ατος πολεμοιο
μι[μνει ον ουκετι παγχυ μαχης σχησεσθαι οιω

* * * * * *

Col. XXI.

[δυσπαρι ειδος αριστε γυναι]μ̣α̣[νες ηπεροπευτα
που τοι δηιφοβος τε βιη θ ελε]ν̣ο̣ι̣ο̣ [ανακτος
[
που δε τοι οθρυονευς νυν ωλετο] π̣ασ[α κατ ακρης
[ιλιος αιπεινη νυν τοι σως αιπυς ο]λ̣ε̣[θρος
[τον δ αυτε προσεειπεν αλεξανδ]ρ̣ο̣[ς θεοειδης
[εκτορ επει τοι θυμος αναιτιον α]ι̣τ[ιαασθαι

* * * * * *

668 χερσιν: νηυσίν MSS, R.

674 I write ηιδει on the analogy of line 355.

743 ει κ: so Barocc. ἤκ' Mor. αἴ κ' cet. and R.

769—775 The identification of this half-effaced fragment from the top of a column is doubtful; but it seems to suit this position better than any other.

## Iliad XIV.

Col. XXVI.

[πλαγχθεις ως γαρ που ζευς ηθελε και θεοι α]λλοι
[αδρηστοιο δ εγημε θυγατρων ναιε δε δωμ]α
[
[πυροφοροι πολλοι δε φυτων εσαν ορχατοι] αμφις
[πολλα δε οι προβατ εσκε κεκαστο δε παντας] αχαιους
[εγχειηι τα δε μελλετ ακουεμεν ει ετεον] περ
[τω ουκ αν με] χε[νος γε κακον και αναλκι]δα φαντες
[μυθον ατιμ]ησα[ιτε πεφασμενον ου κ ευ] ειπω
[δευτ ιομεν] πολε[μον δε και ουταμενοι π]ερ αναγκηι
[ενθα δ επει]τ αυτ[οι μεν εχωμεθα δηι]οτητος
[εκ βελεων] μη πο[υ τις εφ ελκει ελκος α]ρηται
[αλλους δ οτ]ρυνον[τες ενησομεν οι το] παρος περ
[θυμωι ηρα φ]εροντ[ες αφεστασ ουδε μαχ]ονται
[ως εφαθ οι δ αρα του μαλα μεν κλυον η]δε πιθοντο
[βαν δ ιμεν] ηρχε [δ αρα σφιν αναξ ανδρω]ν αγαμεμνων
[ουδ αλαοσκ]οπιην [ειχε κλυτος εννοσι]γαιος
[αλλα μετ αυ]τους η[λθε παλαιωι φωτι εο]ικως
[δεξιτερην] δ ελε χ[ειρ αγαμεμνονος ατ]ρειδαο
[και μιν φω]νησας [επεα πτεροεντα προσ]ηυδα
[ατρειδη νυ]ν δη π[ου αχιλληος ολοον κ]ηρ
[γηθει ενι στη]θεσ[σι φονον και φυζαν α]χαιων
[δερκομενωι] επ[ει ου οι ενι φρενες ουδ η]βαιαι
[αλλ ο μεν ως α]πο[λοιτο θεος δε ε σ]ιφλωσειε
[σοι δ ου πω μα]λα π[αγχυ θεοι μακαρ]ες κοτεουσιν
[αλλ ετι που τρ]ωων η[γητ]ορ[ε]ς ηδ[ε] μεδο[ν]τες
ν
[ευρυ κονισου]σι πεδιον συ δ εποψεαι αυ[τ]ος
[φευγοντας προτι] αστυ νεων απ[ο] και κλισιαων

135 αλαοσκ]οπιην: it is probable that the papyrus had the common reading, as there is hardly room for the longer variants.

141 The letters επ in this line and πο in the next have been rewritten by a later hand; cf. xiii 305.

145 The overwritten ν is perhaps by the cursive hand noticed in xiii 269. κονίσουσι Et. Mg. 528, 46, Zonar. Lex. 1246, Cram. An. Par. iv, 75, 31, κονίσσουσι C Lips., κονίσουσιν R with A, κονίσσουσιν cet.

[ως ειπων μεγ αυσ]εν επεσσυμε[ν]ος πεδιοιο
[οσσον τ ενneαχι]λοι επειαχο[ν η] δεκαχιλοι
[ανερες εν πολεμ]ωι εριδα ξυνα[γον]τες αρηος
[τοσσην εκ στηθεσ]φιν οπα κρε[ιων εν]οσιχθων
[ηκεν αχαιοισιν δ]ε μεγα σθενος [εμβα]λ εκαστωι
[καρδιηι αλληκτον] πολεμιζειν ηδ[ε μα]χεσθαι
[ηρη δ εισειδε χρυσ]οθρονος οφθα[λμοι]σι
[στας εξ ουλυμποιο] απο ριου αυτικ[α δ εγ]νω
[τον μεν ποιπνυο]ντα μαχην αν[α κυδι]ανειραν
[αυτοκασιγνητον] και δαερα χαιρ[ε δε θ]υμωι
[ζηνα δ επ ακροτα]της κορυφης π[ολυπ]ειδακος ιδης
[ημενον εισειδε στ]υγερος δε οι επ[λετ]ο θυμωι

Col. XXVII.

μερμ[η]ριξε δ επειτα βοωπις ποτνια ηρη
οππως εξαπαφοιτο διο[ς] νοον α[ι]γιοχοιο
ηδε δε [ο]ι κατα θυμον αριστη φαι[ν]ετο βουλη
ελθειν εις ιδην ευ εντυνασαν εαυτην
ει πως ειμειραι[τ]ο παραδραθεειν φιλοτητι
ηι χροιη[ι] τωι δ υπνον απημονα τε λιαρον τε
χευηι επι βλεφ[αρ]οισιν ιδε φρεσιν πευκαλιμησι
βη δ ιμ[ε]ν ες θα[λ]αμον τον οι φιλος υιος ετευξεν
ηφαιστος πυκινας δε θυρας σταθμοισιν επηρσεν
κληιδι κρυπτηι τον δ ου θεος αλλος ανωγεν
ενθ η γ ε[ι]σελθουσα θυρας επεθηκε φαεινας
αμβροσιηι μεν πρωτον απο χροος ιμεροεντος
λυματα π[αν]τα καθηρεν αλειψατο δε λιπ ελαιωι
αμβροσιωι εανωι το ρα οι τεθυωμενον ηεν
του και κεινυμενοιο διος ποτι χαλκοβατες δω
εμπης ες γαιαν τε και ουρανον ικετ αυτμη

148 επειαχο[ν : ἐπίαχον MSS, R.

157 πολυπειδακος : πολυπίδ. MSS, R, and so the papyrus in line 283.

163 ειμειραιτο : ἰμείραιτο R with MSS (ἠμείραιτο G); cf. 198. The papyrus inconsistently has ιμεροεντος in line 170.

167 επηρσεν : ἐπῆρσε R with ACD GHL Syr.

168 τον δ : so Zonar. Lex. 224, Et. Mg. 105, 15, Cram. Ep. 330, 1, and the majority of ancient MSS according to Eust. 974, 39. τὴν οὐ S, τὴν δ' οὐ R.

ανωγεν : so Cram. Ep. 27, 31, Et. Mg. 105, 15; ἄνῳγε Cram. Ep. 52, 5, ἀνῷγεν R.

172 εανωι : so Athenaeus xv 688, Schol. Ξ 346; ἑδανῷ MSS, R.

173 κεινυμενοιο : κιν. MSS, R.

ποτι : κατὰ R with L only.

τω ρ η γε χροα καλον αλειψαμενη ιδε χαιτας
πεξαμενη χερσι πλοκαμους επλεξε φαεινους
καλους αμβροσιους εκ κραατος αθανατοιο
αμφι δ αρ αμβροσ[ι]ον εανον εσατ ου οι αθηνη
εξυσ ασκησασα τιθει δ ενι δαιδαλα πολλα
χρυσειηις δ ενετησι κατα στηθος περονατο
ζωσατο δε ζωνην εκατον θυσανοις α[ρ]αρυιηι
εν δ αρα ερματ[α ηκ]εν ευτρητοισι λοβοισι
τριγληνα μμο[ροε]ντα χαρις δ απελαμπ[ετ]ο πολλη
κρηδεμνωι δ ε[φυ]περθε καλυψατο δια θεαων
λ]ευκον δ ην
καλωι νηγατε[ωι κ]αλον δ ην ηελιος ως
ποσσι δ υπο λλι[πα]ροισιν εδησατο καλα πεδειλα
αυταρ επει δη [παν]τα περι χροι θηκατο κοσμον
βη δ ιμεν εκ θαλ[αμ]οιο καλεσσαμενη δ αφροδιτην
των αλ[λ]ων απαν[ε]υθε θεων προς μυθον εειπεν
η ρα ν μοι τ[ι] πιθοιο φιλον τεκος οττι κεν ειπω
ηε κεν αρνησαιο [κο]τεσσαμενη το γε θυμωι
ουνεκ εγω δα[ναοισι] συ δε τρωεσσιν αρηγεις
τον δ ημειβετ ε[πειτα] διος θυγατηρ αφροδιτη
ηρη πρεσβα θεα θυγατερ μεγαλοιο κρονοιο
αυδα οτι φρονεεις τελεσαι δε με θυμος ανωγεν
ει δυναμαι τελεσαι τε και ει τετελεσμενον εστιν
την δε δολοφρονεουσα προσηυδα ποτνια ηρη

Col. XXVIII.

[δος νυν μοι φιλοτητα κ]αι ε[ιμερον ωι τε συ παντας

175 τω: τῷ MSS, R.

178 εσατ: ἕσαθ' (ἔσσαθ' HL) MSS, R.

181 αραρυιηι: ἀραρυῖαν A, ἀραρυίῃ L; ἀραρυῖαν cet., R.

183 μμοροεντα: the doubling of the initial μ after the lengthened syllable is here peculiar to the papyrus; cf. 186 υπο λλιπαροισιν.

185 The pen has been drawn lightly through κ]αλον δ ην, and λ]ευκον δ ην written above the line in ill-formed uncials. The correction in XIII 589 is by the same hand, which is probably also responsible for those in XIII 485, 493, 607, 665; XIV 216, 375, 376, 431, 439, 445.

186 λλιπαροισιν: λιπαροῖσιν R with MSS, cf. 183.

πεδειλα: πέδιλα MSS (πέδιλλα L), R.

188 βη δ: so H. βῆ ῥ' cet. and R.

190 η ρα ν: the scribe has accidentally omitted υ after ν.

193 τον is a mistake for την.

196 τε: γε R with MSS.

εστιν: so AEL; ἐστί R with CDGH Syr. Plutarch de Adulat.

198 ε[ιμερον: ἵμερον R with MSS (ἤμερον G); cf. 163.

[δαμναι αθανατους ηδε θ]νητο[υς ανθρωπους
[ειμι γαρ οψομενη πολυφ]ορβου [πειρατα γαιης
β [ωκεανον τε θεων γενεσιν και] μη[τερα τηθυν
[οι με σφοισι δομοισιν ευ] τρεφο[ν] ηδ ατ̣α̣[λ]λο[ν
κ
[δε]ξα[μενοι ρειης οτ]ε τε ρονον ευρυοπα ζ[ευς
γαιης νερθε [κα]θ̣ειθ̣ι [κ]αι ατρυγ[ετ]οιο θαλασσ[ης
τους ειμ οψομενη και σφ ακριτα νεικεα λυσω
ηδη γαρ δη[ρον] χρονον αλληλων απεχοντ[αι
ευνης και [φι]λοτη[τ]ος επει χολος εμπεσε θυμωι
ει κεινω γ [επε]εσσι παραιπε̣π[ι]θουσα φ[ι]λον κη[ρ
εις ευνην [ανεσ]αι[μ]ι ομοιω[θη]ναι φ[ιλοτητ]ι
αιει κε σφι φ[ιλ]η τε και αιδοιη καλεοιμ[η]ν
την δ αυτε [προσ]εε[ι]πε φιλομ[μει]δης αφροδ[ι]τη
[ου]κ εστ ουδε [εοικ]ε τεον επος αρνησασθαι
ζ[η]νος γα[ρ του αριστ]ου εν αγκοινησιν [ια]υεις
η [κα]ι απ[ο στ]η[θεσφ]ιν ελυσατο κεστον [ιμ]αντα
π[οικιλον ενθα τε οι] θελκτηρ[ια] παντα τετυκτο
ι
εν[θ ενι μεν] φιλοτης εν δ ιμερος εν δ οαριστυς
πα[ρφασις η τ] εκλεψε νοον πυκα περ φρονεον[των
τον [ρα οι εμβαλε χ]ερσιν επος τ εφατ εκ τ ονομα[ζε
τη [νυν τουτον ιμ]αντα τεωι ενκατθεο κολπω[ι
πο[ικιλον ωι ενι] παντα τετευχαται ουδε σε φημ[ι
απ[ρηκτον γε νεεσ]θαι οτι φρεσι σησι μενοιν[αις
ως [φατο μειδησεν δε] βοωπις ποτνια ηρη
μειδησ[ασα δ επειτα ε]ωι εγκατθετο κολπωι
η μεν ε[βη πρ]ος [δωμ]α διος θυγατηρ αφροδιτη
ηρη δ αι[ξασα λιπεν ριο]ν ουλυμποιο
πιεριη[ν δ επιβ]ασα [κ]αι ημαθιην ερατεινην

202 The scribe seems to have written αταλλον, which was afterwards corrected; but the papyrus is here so damaged that the nature and date of the correction are uncertain.

203 The correction of κρονον is by the original hand.

209 ομοιω[θη]ναι: so Apoll. Soph. 32, 13. ομωοιθηναι Syr., ὁμωθῆναι cet., R.

211 αφροδιτη is written with a cursive α.

216 The correction of εν to ενι is not original. ἔνι Boisson. Anecd. IV. 450; ἐν MSS and R.

219 ενκατθεο: ἐνικάτθεο L, ἐγκάτθεο cet., R. The papyrus has εγκατθετο in l. 223.

223 ε]ωι: the scribe apparently began to write ν in place of ι.

σευα[τ] ε[φ ι]πποπολω[ν] θρηικων ορεα νιφοεντα
ακροτατας κορυφας [ο]υδε χθονα μαρπ[τ]ε ποδοιι[ν
εξ αθοωι δ επι ποντ[ο]ν εβησατο κυμα[ι]νοντα
λημνον δ εισαφικανε πολιν θειοιο θ[ο]αντ[ος
ενθ υπνωι ξυμβλητο κασιγνητωι θα[να]τοιο
εν τ αρα οι φυ χειρι επος τ εφατ εκ τ ονο[μ]αζεν
υπνε αναξ παντων τε θεων παντων τ [α]νθρωπων
ημεν δη ποτ εμον επος εκλυες ηδ [ετι] και ν[υ]ν
πειθεο εγω δε κε τ[οι] ιδεω χαριν ημ[ατα π]αν[τα
κοιμησον μοι ζηνος υπ οφρυ[σι]ν ο[σσε φ]αει[νω
αυτικ επει κεν εγω παραλεξομ[αι ε]ν [φιλοτ]ητι

Col. XXIX.

[δωρα δε τοι δωσω καλ]ον θρονον αφθιτον αιει
[χρυσεον ηφαιστος δε κ] εμ[ος παις αμφιγυηεις
[τευξει ασκησας υπο δ]ε θρην[υν ποσιν ησει
[τωι κεν επισχοιης λιπαρ]ους πο[δας ειλαπιναζων
[
ηρη [πρεσβα θεα θυγατερ] μεγαλοι[ο κρονοιο
αλλο[ν μεν κεν εγ]ω [γ]ε θεων αιει[γενεταων
ρεια [κατευν]ησ[αιμ]ι και αν ποταμ[οιο ρεεθρα
ωκ[εα]νου ο[ς περ γεν]εσις παντεσσ[ι τετυκται
ζη[ν]ος δ ου[κ αν ε]γω γε κρονιονος α[σσον ικοιμην
ουδε κατευν[η]σαιμι οτε μη αυτος γε [κελευοι
ηδη γαρ με κ[αι αλλο τεη] επινυσσεν [εφετμη
ηματι τωι οτ[ε] κεινος υπερθυμος δι[ος υιος
επλεεν ιλιο[θ]εν τρωων πολιν εξαλ[απαξας
η τ[οι εγω] με[ν] ελεξα διος νοον αιγιο[χοιο
ν[ηδυ]μος αμφιχυθεις συ δε οι κακομ[ησαο θυμωι
ο[ρσασ] αρ[γαλεων] α[νεμ]ων επι ποντον [αητας
κα[ι μ]ιν ε[πειτα κ]οων δ ε[υ] ναιομενην α[πενεικας
νοσφι φ[ιλων παν]τ[ων ο δ επ]εγρομεν[ος χαλεπαινε
ριπταζω[ν κατα δω]μα θ[εο]υς εμε δ εξοχ[α παντων
ζητει κα[ι κε μ αιστον] α[π] αιθερος εμβαλ[ε ποντωι
ει μη νυξ [δμητειρα θ]εων εσαωσε και αν[δρων

229 *αθοωι*: so DH Syr. Ἀθωο Eust. 479, 5. Ἀθόω cet., R.

235 *πειθεο*: so ES; *πεῖθε* D, *πείθευ* cet., R.

248 *κατευνησαιμι*: the unelided ι is perhaps due to the occurrence of the word in line 245. Cf. XIII 564.

253 *κακομ[ησαο*: *κακὰ μήσαο* R with MSS.

την ικομ[ην φευγω]ν ο δ [ε]παυσατο χωομ[ενος περ
αζετο γαρ μη νυ[κ]τι θοηι αποθυμια ερδο[ι
νυν αυ τουτο μ ανωγας αμηχανον αλλο τ[ελεσσαι
τον δ αυτε προσεειπε βοωπις ποτνια ηρη
υπνε τι η δε συ ταυτα μετα φρεσι σηισι μ[ενοιναις
η φης ως τρωεσσ[ι]ν αρηξεμεν ευρυοπα ζ[ην
ως ηρακληος περ[ι]χωσατο παιδος εοιο
αλλ ιθι εγω δε κε το[ι χα]ριτων μιαν οπλοτερ[αων
δωσω οπυιεμεναι και σην κεκλησθαι ακ[οιτιν
ως φατο χηρατο δ υπνος αμειβομενος δε πρ[οσηυδα
αγρει νυν μοι ομο[σ]σον αατον στυγος υδωρ
χειρι δε τηι ετερηι μεν ελε χθονα πουλυβοτε[ιραν
τηι δ ετερηι αλα μαρμαρεην ινα νωιν απαν[τες
μαρτυροι ωσ οι ενερθε θεοι κρονον αμφις ε[οντες
η μεν εμοι δωσειν χαριτων μιαν οπλοτερα[ων
πασιθεην ης τ αυτος εελδομαι ηματα παντ[α
ως εφατ ουδ απιθησε θεα λευκωλενος ηρ[η

Col. XXX.

ωμνυ[ε δ ως ε]κελευε θεους δ [ονομηνεν απαντας
τους υπ[οταρ]ταριους οι τιτην[ες καλεονται
αυταρ ε[πει ρ ο]μοσεν τε τελε[υτησεν τε τον ορκον
τω βητ[ην λημ]νον τε και ιμβρο[υ αστυ λιποντε
ηερα ε[σσαμε]νω ριμφα πρησσ[ουτε κελευθον
ιδην δ [ικεσθη]ν πολυπιδακα μη[τερα θηρων
λεκτ[ον οθι πρω]τον λιπετην αλα [τω δ επι χερσου
βητη[ν ακροτατ]η δε ποδων υπο [σειετο υλη
ενθ υ[πνος μεν] εμεινε [π]αρος δ[ιος οσσε ιδεσθαι
εις ελ[ατην ανα]βας περιμηκετο[ν η τοτ εν ιδηι
μακρ[οτατη πε]φυια δι ηρος αιθ[ερ ικανεν
ενθ [ηστ οζοισιν] πεπυκασμενο[ς ειλατινοισιν

265 φης: φῆς R, MSS.

267 ιθι: for the want of elision cf. 248.

269 The papyrus agrees with the majority of the MSS in omitting this line, Πασιθέην, ἧς αἰὲν ἐέλδεαι ἤματα πάντα, which is found in GHS Cant. Vrat. b. and the margins of C and D.

271 αατον: so CS Vrat. A. Flor.; ἀάατον cet., R.

281 λημνον: so S, which also reads ἴμβρον: Λήμνου cet., R.

και is for και: the mistake is of course due to the ι following.

288 πεφυια: so D; πεφυκῦια Et. Gud. 237, 49, πεφυνῖα R with the rest of the MSS.

[ορνιθι λιγυρηι εναλιγκιος] η τ εν ο[ρεσσι
[χαλκιδα κικλησκουσι θεο]ι ανδρ[ες δε κυμινδιν
[ηρη δε κραιπνως προσεβη]σατο [γαργαρον ακρον
[ιδης υψηλης ιδε δε νεφεληγ]ερε[τα ζευς

* * * * * *

Col. XXXI.

* * * * * *

[ιδης εν κορυφηισι τα δε προπεφανται απ]αντα
[
[ευδοντ αθρησειε θεοισι δε πασι μετελθω]ν
[πεφραδοι ουκ αν εγω γε τεον προς δωμα] νεοιμην
[εξ ευνης ανστασα, νεμεσσητον δε κεν ει]ηι
[αλλ ει δη ρ εθελεις και τοι φιλον επλετο θ]υμωι
[εστιν τοι θαλαμος τον τοι φιλος υιος ετευξ]εν
[ηφαιστος πυκινας δε θυρας σταθμοισιν ε]πηρσεν
[ενθ ιομεν κειοντες επει νυ τοι εναδεν ευ]ϊνη
[την δ απαμειβομενος προσεφη νεφεληγ]ερετα ζευς
[
[οψεσθαι τοιον τοι εγω νεφος αμφικαλυψ]ω
[
[ου τε και οξυτατον πελεται φαος εισοραασ]θαι
[η ρα και αγκας εμαρπτε κρονου παις ην παρα]κοιτιν
[
[λωτον θ ερσηεντα ιδε κροκον ηδ υακινθο]ϊν
[πυκνον και μαλακον ος απο χθονος υψοσ εε]ργε
[τωι ενι λεξασθην επι δε νεφεληι εσσαντ]ο
[καλην χρυσειην στιλπναι δ απεπιπτον εερ]σα[ι
[ως ο μεν ατρεμας ευδε πατηρ ανα γαργαρωι] ακρωι
[υπνωι και φιλοτητι δαμεις εχε δ αγκας ακοι]τιν
[βη δε θεειν επι νηας αχαιων νηδυμος υπν]ος

* * * * * *

Col. XXXII.

και σφι[ν κυδος οπαζε μινυνθα περ οφρ ε]τι ευδει
ζευς επ[ει αυτωι εγω μαλακον περι κω]μα καλυψα
ηρη δ εν [φιλοτητι παρηπαφεν ευνηθ]ην[α]ι
ως ειπω[ν ο μεν] ῳ[ιχετ επι κλυτα φυλ ανθρω]πων

290 η: a mistake for ην.

336 ει]ηι: εἴη MSS, R. Cf. XIII 288, note.

τον δ [ε]τ[ι μαλλον ανηκεν αμ]υνεμεναι δ[ανα]οισ[ι]ν
αυτι[κα δ ε]ν [π]ρωτο[ι]σι [μεγα προ]θορων εκελε[υσεν]
αργειοι και [δ] αυτε μεθ[ιεμεν εκτ]ορι νικη[ν
πριαμιδηι ινα νηας [ελητι και κ]υδος αρηται
αλλ ο μεν ουτω φησι κ[αι ευχε]ται ουνεκ αχιλλευς
νηυσιν επι γλαφυρηισ[ι μενε]ι κεχολωμενος ητορ
κεινου [δ ο]υ τι λιην ποθ[η] εσσεται ει κεν οι αλλοι
ημεις ο[τ]ρυνωμεθ αμυ[νε]μεν αλληλοισιν
370 αλλ α[γεθ] ως [α]ν εγω ειπ[ω] πειθωμεθα παντες
ασπ[ιδες ο]σ[σαι] αριστοι ενι στρατωι ηδε μεγιστοι
εσ[σα]με[ν]οι κεφαλας δε [π]ἀν[αι]θησιν κορυθεσσιν
κρυψαντες χερσιν [δε τα] μακ[ρ]οτατ εγχε ελοντες
[ι]ομεν [αυταρ] εγων η[γησο]μαι ουδ ετι φημι
εκτορα π[ρια]μιδη[ν μεν]εειν μαλα περ μεμαωτα
ει
ος δε κ [αν]ηρ μενεχ[αρμο]ς εχηι δολιχον σακος ωμωι
γ
[χειρ]ονι φωτι δοτω ο δ εν ασπιδι μ[ει]ζονι δυτω
[ως] εφαθ [ο]ι δ [αρ]α του μαλα μεν κλυ[ο]ν ηδε πιθοντο
[του]ς δ αυτοι βασιληες εκοσμεον ουταμενοι περ
380 [τυδ]ειδης οδυσευς τε [και ατρειδης] αγαμεμνων
[οιχ]ομενοι δ επι παντ[ας αρηια τευ]χε αμειβον
[εσθ]λα μεν εσθλος εδυ̣ν[ε χερεια δ]ε χειρονι δοσκεν
[αυ]ταρ επει ρ εσσαντο περι χροι [ν]ωροπα χαλκον
[βα]ν δ ιμεν ηρχε δ αρα σφι ποσιδαων ενοσιχθων
[δ]εινον αορ τανυηκες εχων ε[ν χει]ρι παχειηι
[ικ]ελον αστ[ε]ροπηι τωι δ ου θεμις εστι μιγηναι
[ε]ν δαι [λε]υγαλεηι α[λ]λα δεος ισχαν[ει] ανδρας
[τρ]ωας δ αυθ ετερωθεν ε[κοσ]με[ε φ]αιδιμος εκτωρ
[δ]η ρα τοτ α[ι]νοτα[τ]ην ε[ριδ]α πτο[λ]εμοιο τανυσσαν

364 [δ] αυτε: so MSS; δὴ αὖτε R.

372 κορυθεσσιν: κορύθεσσι R with ACEG Syr.

375 The letters ει above the line are by the corrector of line 185, etc. The following letters μιδη, and in the previous line ωνη, have also been rewritten. The papyrus had apparently become rubbed anciently at this point: cf. XIII 305. The size of the lacuna leads me to think that the original scribe wrote πριαμιδης, not πρειαμιδης.

376 εχηι: so ACDHL Syr. Cant. Lips. Vrat. b. d. Mosc. 2; ἔχει R.

δολιχον: δ' ὀλίγον R with the MSS, and so the corrector here.

382 δοσκεν: so the MSS with Schol. A 80, Cram. Ep. 350, 25: δόσκον R with H Rom.

384 βαν δ: βάν ῥ' R with MSS.

386 [ικ]ελον: cf. XIII 330; εἴκελον R with most MSS.

390 [κυ]ανοχαιτα πο[σι]δαω[ν και φαιδιμος] εκτωρ
[η τ]οι ο [μ]εν [τρωεσσιν ο δ αργειοισιν α]ρηγων
[εκλ]υ[σθ]ῃ δ[ε θαλασσα ποτι κλισιας τε ν]ηας τε
[αργε]ιων οι δ[ε] ξ[υνισαν μεγαλωι αλαλητωι
[ουτ]ε θαλασσ[η]ς κυμ[α τοσον βοααι ποτι χερσον
[πον]τοθεν [ορνυμενον πνοιηι βορεω αλεγεινηι
[ουτ]ε πυ[ρος τοσσος γε πελει βρομος αιθομενοιο

Col. XXXIII.

[ουρεος εν βησσηις οτε τ ωρετο καιεμε]ν υλην
[ουτ ανεμος τοσσον γε περι δρυσιν υψ]ικομοισιν
[ηπυει ος τε μαλιστα μεγα βρεμετ]αι χαλεπαινων
400 [οσση αρα τρωων και αχαιων επλε]το φωνηι
[δεινον αυσαντων οτ επ αλληλοισιν] ορουσαν
[αιαντος δε πρωτος ακοντισε φαιδι]μος εκτωρ
δ [εγχει επει τετραπτο προς ιθυ οι ου]δ αφαμαρτε
[τηι ρα δυω τελαμωνε περι στηθεσσι τ]ετασθην
η [τοι ο μεν σακεος ο δε φασγανου αργυρ]οηλ[ο]υ
τ[ω οι ρυσασθην] τε[ρενα χροα χωσατο δ] ἐκ[τωρ
οτ[τι ρα οι βε]λος ω[κυ ετωσιον εκφυγε χει]ρος
αψ [δ εταρων ε]ις εθν[ος εχαζετο κηρ αλ]εεινων
το[ν μεν επει]τ απιο[ντα μεγας τελαμ]ων[ι]ος αια[ς
410 χε[ρμαδιωι τ]α ρα πο[λλα θοαων εχμα]τα νηων
[παρ ποσι] μαρναμεν[ων εκυλινδετ]ο των εν αειρ[ας
[σ]τ[ηθος] βεβληκει υ[περ αντυγος αγχοθι δειρης
[σ]τ[ρομβ]ον δ ως εσσευ[ε βαλων περι] δ εδραμε π[αντηι
ω[ς δ οθ υ]πο π[λ]ηγης π[ατρος διος εξερ]ιπη δρυς
προρρ[ιζος] δ[ειν]ῃ δε θ[εειου γινεται οδ]μη
εξ αυτη[ς] το[ν] δ ου π[ερ εχει θρασος ος] κεν ιδητα[ι
εγγυς εων χ[αλ]επ[ος δε διος μεγαλοι]ο κεραυνος
ως επε[σ] εκτ[ορ]ος [ωκα χαμαι μενος ε]ν κονιηισι
[χ]ειρος [δ εκ]β[αλεν εγχος επ αυτω]ι δ̣ [ασπι]ς εαφ[θ]η
421 οι δε μ[εγα ιαχο]ντ[ες επεδραμ]ον υιες αχαιων
ελπο[μενοι ερυεσ]θα[ι] α[κο]ντιζον δε θαμειας
αιχμα[ς αλλ ου τις] εδυνη[σατο] ποιμενα λαων
ουτασ[αι ουδε βαλ]ειν πρ[ιν γαρ] περιβη[σ]αν αριστο[ι

400 *φωνηι*: for the misplaced iota adscript cf. XIII 288, note.

414 *εξεριπη*: *ἐξερίπῃ* MSS, R.

420 This line, *καὶ κόρυς, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῷ*, is also omitted in Ambros. and the text of A.

πουλ[υδαμας τε] και αινει[ας] και διος αγηνωρ
[σ]αρπ[ηδων τ αρ]χος λυκιων και γλαυκος αμυμων
των [δ αλλω]ν [ου] τις [ευ α]κηδ[εσ]εν αλ[λ]α παροιθεν
α[σ]π̣ι̣[δας ε]ν̣υκυ̣[λους σχεθον α]υτου τον δ αρ εταιροι
[χε]ρσι[ν α]ειραν[τες] φερο[ν εκ π]ονου οφρ ικεθ ιππους
[ωκεας οι] οι οπισθε μαχη[ς ηδ]ε πτολεμοιο
ε[στασαν (?) η]νιοχ[ο]ν̣ τε [κ]αι α[ρματα] ποικιλ εχοντες
[οι τον γε προτι αστ]υ φερ[ον βαρ]εα στ[ε]ναχοντα
[αλλ οτε δη πορον] ιξον [ευρρειο]ς ποταμοιο
[ξανθου δινηεν]τος ο[ν αθα]ν[α]τος τεκετο ζευς
[ενθα μιν εξ ιππω]ν π[ελασα]ν χ[θ]ονι καδ δε οι υδωρ
[χευαν ο δ εμπνυνθ]η κ[αι αν]εδρακεν οφθαλμοισιν

Col. XXXIV.

[εξομενος δ επι γουνα κελαινεφες αιμ απε]μασσεν
[αυτις δ εξοπισω πλητο χθονι τω δε οι οσ]σε
ε̣ξ̣[εκαλυψε μελαινα βελος δ ετι θυμον εδαμ]να
α[ργειοι δ ως ουν ιδον εκτορα νοσφι κιοντα
μ[αλλον επι τρωεσσι θορον μνησαντο δε χαρ]μης
ε̣[νθα] π̣ο̣[λυ πρωτιστος οιληος ταχυς αιας
σα[τν]ιον [ουτ]ασ[ε δουρι μεταλμενος] οξ[υοε]ντι
[ηνο]πιδην ον α[ρα νυμφη τεκε νηις] αμυμων
[ηνο]πι βουλεοντι [πα]ρ [οχθας σατνιοε]ντος
[τον μ]εν οιλ[ι]αδη[ς δο]υρ[ι] κ[λυτος εγγυθ]εν ελθων
[ουτασε] καλαπαρ[ην ο] δ ανετραπ[ετ] αμφι δ αρ αυτωι
[τρωες κ]αι δαναοι [συν]αγον κρατερην υσμινην
[τωι δ επι πουλυ]δαμ[ας] εγχεσπαλος ηλθεν αμυντωρ
[πανθοιδης βαλε δε] προθοηνορα δεξιον ωμον
υ[ιον αρηιλυκοιο δι] ωμου δ οβριμον εγχος

431 The letters σαν (ν is doubtful), written by the later hand, are visible above the lacuna. The papyrus may have been damaged here anciently, as in lines 374–5. There seems to be no known variant.

437 απε]μασσεν: so ACDS Schol. O 11. ἀπέμεσσεν R (Aristarch.).

439 The original scribe apparently wrote εξεκαλυψε; the initial ε has been crossed out and ν[υ written above. The correction is by the same hand as that in line 431, etc.

445 κο above the line is very coarsely written; but the hand is not probably to be distinguished from that of the other corrections in this book.

447 [ουτασε] καλαπαρ[ην: οὖτασε καλλαπάρην MSS; οὖτα κατὰ λαπάρην R, cf. 517.

εσχ[εν ο δ εν κονιησι]ι πεσων ελε γαιαν αγοστωι
πουλυδ[αμας δ εκπα]γλον επευξατο μακρα βιβασθων
ου μαν [αυτ οιω μεγα]θυμου πανθοιδαο
χειρος α[πο στιβαρης] αλιος πηδησαι ακοντα
αλλα τις [αργειων κο]μισε χροι και μιν οιω
αυτω[ι] σκη[πτομενον] κατιμεν δομον αιδος ε[ι]σω
ως εφα[τ αργειοισι δ α]χος γενετ ευξαμενοιο
αιαντι [δε μαλιστα δαι]φρον[ι] θυμον ορεινε
τω[ι τελαμωνιαδηι το]υ γαρ [π]εσεν α[γ]χι μαλιστα
κα[ρπαλιμως δ] απ[ιον]τος α[κο]ντισε δουρι φαεινωι
που[λυ]δαμας δ α[υ]το[ς μ]εν [αλε]υατο κηρα μελαιναν
λικ[ριφ]ις αιξας κο[μ]ισεν δ [αντη]νορο[ς] υιος
αρχε[λοχος τωι] γαρ ρα θ[εο]ι βο[υλευσα]ν ολεθρον
τον ρ [εβαλεν κ]εφαλης τε και [αυχεν]ος εν συνεεχμωι
νεια[τον αστρα]γαλον απο δ αμ[φω κ]ερσε τενοντε
του δ[ε πολυ] προτ[ερη] κεφαλη σ[το]μα τε ρινας τε
ουδε[ι πλ]ηντ η περ [κν]ημαι και[ι γου]να πεσοντος
αια[ς δ αυτ εγε]γ[ω]νεν αμυμον[ι πο]υλυδαμαντι
φραζεο π[ουλυ]δαμα και μοι ν[η]μερτες ενισπες
[η ρ ου]χ ου[τος αν]ηρ προθοην[ορ]ος αντι πεφασθαι
[αξι]ο[ς ου μεν] μοι [κα]κος ειδε[τ]αι ουδε κακων εξ
αλλα κ[ασιγνη]τος αντηνορος ιπποδαμοιο
η παις α[υτωι γαρ] κεφαλην αγχιστα εωικει
η ρ ευ γι[γνωσκω]ν τρ[ω]ας δ αχος ελλαβε θυμον
ενθ ακα[μας προ]μα[χο]ν βοιω[τ]ιον ουτασε δουρι

Col. XXXV.

[
[
[
ου θ[ην οιοισιν γε πονος τ εσεται και οιζυς
ημι[ν αλλα ποθ ωδε κατακτανεεσθε και υμμες
φραζε[σθ ως υμιν προμαχος δεδμημενος ευδει

453 μακρα βιβασθων: so AHS Harl. Vrat. d.; μακρὸν ἀύσας A in mg., R.

455 αλιος: ἄλιον R with MSS (ἅλιον D).

465 συνεεχμωι: συνεχμῷ S, συνεοχμῷ cet., R.

467 ρινας: a mistake for ρινες.

474 κεφαλην: cf. B 478, α 208. The letters αλ are nearly effaced; κ εφαμην could also be read. γενεήν R with MSS, ῥα φυήν Aristophanes (Didymus).

εωικει: the scribe began to write κ immediately after ω.

εγχε[ι εμωι ινα μη τι κασιγνητοιο γε ποινη
δηρον [ατιτος εη τω και τε τις ευχεται ανηρ
γνωτ[ον ενι μεγαροισιν αρης αλκτηρα λιπεσθαι
ως εφ[ατ αργειοισι δ αχος γενετ ευξαμενοιο
πηνε[λεωι δε μαλιστα δαιφρονι θυμον ορε]ι̣νε̣[ν
ωρμη[θη δ ακαμαντος ο δ ου]χ υ[πεμει]νεν ε[ρωην
πηνε[λεωο ανακτος ο δ ουτ]ασεν [ιλιον]ηα
υιον φ[ορβαντος πολυμη]λου τον ρα [μ]αλιστα
ερμεια[ς τρωων εφιλει κα]ι κτησιν οπασσε
τωι δ α[ρ υπο μητηρ μουν]ον τεκεν ιλιονηα
τον τοθ [υπ οφρυος ου]τα κα[τ ο]φθαλμοιο θεμεθλ[α
εκ δ ωσ[ε γληνην δορυ δ] οφθαλμοιο [δια] π̣[ρο
και δια ι[νιου ηλθεν ο δ εζ]ετο χειρε πετασσας
αμφω π[ηνελεως δε ορυ]σσαμενος ξιφος οξυ
αυχενα [μεσσον ελασσεν] απηραξεν δε χαμαζ[ε
αυτηι συ[ν πηληκι καρη ετι δ] οβριμον εγχος
ηεν εν ο[φθαλμωι ο δε φη κωδ]ειαν ανασχων
πεφραδε [τε τρωεσσι και ευχο]μενος επος ηυδ[α
ειπεμ[εναι μοι τρωες αγαυου ι]λιονηος
πατρι φιλ[ωι και μητρι γο]ημεναι ε[ν μεγαροισιν
ε ουδε γαρ η [προμαχοιο] δαμαρ αλεγηνο[ριδαο
ανδρι φιλωι ε[λθοντι γα]νυσσεται οπποτε κεν δη
εκ τροιης συν [νηυσι νε]ωμεθα κουροι αχαιων
ως φατο τ[ους δ αρα παν]τας υπο τρ[ομ]ος ελλαβε γυια
παπτηνε[ν δε εκαστο]ς [ο]πηι φυγοι αιπυ[ν ο]λεθρον
εσπετε νυ[ν μοι μουσαι ολ]υμπια δωμ[ατ ε]χουσ[αι
ος τις δη πρ[ωτος βροτοε]ν[τ] ανδραγρι α[χαιων
ηρατ επ[ει ρ εκλινε μα]χην κλυτος εν[νοσιγαιο]ς
αιας ρα π[ρωτος τελα]μων[ι]ος υρτιον ουτα
γυρτια[δην μυσων ηγη]το[ρ]α̣ καρτεροθυμων
φαλκην δ αν[τιλοχος και] μερμερον εξεναριξεν
μηριον[ης δε μορυν τε και ι]ππ̣οτιωνα κατεκτα

τευκρος δ[ε προθοωνα τ ενηρατο] και περιφ̣ο̣ι̣τ̣η̣ν̣

Col. XXXVI.

ατρειδη[ς δ αρ επ]ειθ υπερηνορα π[οιμενα] λ̣α̣[ων

515 The over-written η is I think by the later hand; the MSS uniformly read Περιφήτην.

ουτασε κα[λαπαρ]ην δια δ εν[τ]ερα χα[λκο]ς α[φ]υσσ[ε
δηιωσας [ψυχ]η δε κατ ουταμενην [ωτ]ειλην
εσσυτ ε[π]ει[γο]μενη τον δε σκοτο[ς οσσ]ε κ[α]λ[υ]ψ[ε
πλειστους δ α[ια]ς ειλεν οιλιαδης τ̣α̣χ̣[υς] υιος
ου γαρ οι τις ομοιος επισπεσθα[ι] ποσ[ι]ν ηεν
α[νδ]ρων τρε[σσ]αντων οτε τε ζευς ε[ν] φοβον ω[ρσηι

ῐλιαδος
ξ
ΠΔΔ

517 ουτασε κα[λαπαρ]ην: οὖτα κατὰ λαπάρην R with DG; οὔτασε καλλαπάρην ACEHLS Lips. Rom. cf. 447.

520 οιλιαδης: Ὀιλῆος MSS, R.

The subscription gives the title of the book and the number of lines contained in it, the first sign standing for πεντακόσιοι, and δδ for δ(έκα) + δ(έκα), = 520. As a matter of fact the last line is only the nineteenth from the marginal ε which marks line 500. A very similar subscription occurs in the British Museum MS of Iliad xxiii (Pap. cxxviii).

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

## EMENDATIONS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF MANILIUS.

25 quem primum *interius* licuit cognoscere terris | munere caelestum ?] *ulterius.*

58 and 59 should be punctuated thus: postquam omnis caeli species, redeuntibus astris, | percepta, in proprias sedes, etc.

70—72 should be written thus: uariosque dies incertaque noctis | tempora, nec similes umbras iam sole regresso, | iam propiore, suis *discernere* <*nescia*> causis. *poterant discernere* MSS, *impar discernere* Bentley.

87, 88 et uagus in caecum penetrauit nauita pontum, | fecit et ignotis *itiner* (al. *inter,* al. *iter in*) commercia terris] *linter.*

145, 146 semper erit *genus in pugna,* dubiumque manebit | quod latet et tantum supra est hominemque deumque] *pugna ingeniis.*

214 sic *stellis* (al. *stellas*) glomerata *manent* mundumque *figurant*] *tellus...manet...figurat* Jacob: after this verse place 167 and read: sic tellus glomerata *manens* mundumque *refugit* | imaque de cunctis mediam tenet undique sedem.

218, 219 sed *quaerent* Helicen, quibus ille superuenit ignis, | quod laterum tractus habitant] *quaerunt.*

226 *ultima* ad hesperios *infectis* uolueris *alis*] *tum uice... infecti...axis.*

242, 243 hanc ubi ad occasus nostros sol aspicit *ortus,* | illic orta dies sopitas excitat urbes] *actus.*

277, 278 nec norunt obitus, unoque in uertice *tantum* | in diuersa *situ,* caelumque et sidera torquent] *mutant...situm.*

285 should be written thus: nec uero e solido stat robore, *corpore conpos. corporis ei* (al. *eius*) MSS.

311 hinc *uicina poli caelique* (al. *uicena caeli*) hinc proxima flammis] hinc <*niue*> *uicina glacieque,* hinc etc.

331—336 should be written thus: Serpentem magnis Ophiucus nomine *gyris* | diuidit et torto cingentem corpore corpus, | explicet ut nodos sinuataque terga per orbes; | respicit ille tamen molli ceruice reflexus | et redit effusis per laxa uolumina palmis | semper *iter,* paribus bellum quia uiribus aequant. *signis...erit* MSS.

351—358 should be written thus: succedit iniquo | *innisum* spatio, quod terna lampade *praestans* | conspicitur paribus, Deltoton nomine sidus, | ex simili dictum; Cepheusque et Cassiepia | in poenas *clinata* suas iuxtaque relictam | Andromedam, uastos metuentem Pristis hiatus, | ni ueterem Perseus caelo quoque seruet amorem etc. *diuisus...dispar* (al. *dispas*)... *signata* MSS.

363, 364 quem primo curru uolitantem Iuppiter *alto* | quadriiugis conspexit equis] *apto.*

389 extento surgentem *sidera* (al. *ad sidera*) passu] *in sidera.*

394 is spurious.

396—399 subsequitur *rapido* contenta Canicula cursu, | qua nullum terris uiolentius aduenit astrum | nec grauius cedit: *nec* horrida frigore surgit, | *haec* (al. *ne*) uacuum *solis* fulgentem deserit orbem] *rabido...nunc...nunc...soli.* (*nunc... nunc* Breiter.)

407, 408 magna fides hoc posse color cursusque micantis | *in radios*] *ignis ad os.*

414 emeritum magnis mundum tenet acta *periclis*] *lacertis.*

424—426 cum surgere terram | cerneret, *et* uerti naturam crederet omnem, | montibus atque altis aggestos crescere montes] *ut.*

430, 431 necdum *hostiferum* sibi quemquam aut numina norat | siqua forent maiora suis] *hostem fieri.*

451—455 should be written thus: *auersas* frontibus Arctos | uno distingui medias claudique Dracone | credimus exemplo, *quia mens* fugientia uisus | hunc orbem caeli uertentis sidera cursu | *tam* <*signo*> simili fultum, quam uertice, fingit. *et uersas...quamuis...cardine tam* MSS.

463 quidquid subduxit, *flammis* natura pepercit] *damnis.*

469—471 should be written thus: praecipue, medio cum luna implebitur orbe, | certa nitent mundo *tum lumina,* conditur omne | stellarum uulgus, fugiunt *nise* nomine *dignae* (or *digna*). *cum luna* (al. *lumina*)*...sine...signa* MSS.

559 and 560 should be written thus: singula cum tantum teneant, tantoque ferantur | *temporis ex alto* surgentia sidera *tractu. tempore sex tota...luce* MSS.

564—566 are all three spurious: Scaliger expels only the two first and Jacob only the two last.

612—614 extremamque secans Hydram mediumque sub armis | Centaurum *aduerso* (al. *aduersus*) *concurrit rursus* in axe | et redit in caelum] *aduersis Vrsis concurrit.*

625, 626 tangit | te, Capricorne, tuisque Aquilam *designat* ab astris] *destringit.*

631—633 atque *haec* (al. *hoc*) aeternam fixerunt *tempora* sedem | immotis per signa modis statione perenni; | hos uolucres fecere duos] Either *his...foedera* (*his* Huet) or else *hos aeterna...foedera sede* (*aeterna...sede* Bentley).

654—657 should be written thus: haec quoque per totum uolitabit linea caelum, | nunc *tractum* ad medium uergens *mundique tepentem* | orbem, nunc septem ad stellas *nec* mota sub astra; | *seu* quocumque etc. *tantum...mediumque repente... nunc...sed* MSS.

680 insignemque facit *caelato lumine* mundum] Either *caelato culmine* or *collato lumine.*

681—683 are spurious.

696—698 subit Heniochum, *teque,* unde profectus, | *Cassiepia, petens* super ipsum Persea transit | orbemque ex illa coeptum concludit in ipsa] *tunc* (or *tumque*)*...Cassiopen repetens.*

726—728 mundi *stipatus et* orbis | aeriam in nebulam *clara* compagine *uersus* | in cuneos alti cogat fundamina caeli] *stipator an...lacxa...uersa.*

744—747 should be written and punctuated thus: *quor* querimur flammas totum saeuisse per orbem | terrarumque rogum cunctas arsisse per urbes, | cum uaga dispersi fluitarunt lumina currus? | et caelum exustum est: luit etc. *quo* or *quod* or *quid* MSS.

750, 751 nec mihi celanda est *famae uulgata uetustas* | mollior] *uulgata fama uetusta.*

769 regesque alios quos *Graecia* misit] *Thraecia.*

778—780 should be written thus: Horatia proles | *sola* acies, *parti* necnon et Scaeuola *trunca* | nobilior. *tota... partus...trunco* MSS.

786 *Pyrrhi* (*pirri*) per bella Papirius ultor] *furti.*

790, 791 uictorque *necati* | Liuius Hasdrubalis socio per bella Nerone] *tenaci.*

794, 795 censu Tullius oris | emeritus caelum et Claudi *magna* propago] *haud indigna.*

800 is spurious; between 801 and 802 two verses have fallen out, one of which is 386: 799—802 should be written thus: Iulia: descendit caelo caelumque *replebit,* | *cernet* et in coetu diuum magnumque Quirinum | <*quemque nouum superis numen pius addidit ipse,*> | (386) Caesar, nunc terris post caelo maximus auctor, | altius aetherei quam candet circulus orbis. *repleuit cernit* MSS.

842—844 quin etiam tumidis exaequat dolia flammis | procere distenta uteros, *partosque* (al. *partasque*) *capellas* (al. *capellos* al. *capillos*) | mentitur *paruis* (al. *paruos*) ignis glomeratus in orbes] *artosque capellas...paruas.*

849 should be placed before 847, and 847—851 should be written thus: et tenuem longis iaculantur *cursibus* ignem | praecipites stellae, passimque uolare uidentur, | cum uaga per liquidum scintillant lumina mundum; | exiliuntque procul uolucris imitata sagittas, | *ardua* cum gracili tenuatur semita filo. *crinibus...arida* MSS.

864—868 should be written and punctuated thus: ruptum; | *si uere* ratio praebentis semina *terras* | in uolucres ignes posuit generare cometas. | siue illas natura faces *obscura* creauit | sidera etc. *siue igitur...terrae...ob cuncta* MSS.

871—873 should be written thus: sicut Cyllenius orbis | et Venus, accenso cum ducit uespere noctem | *sera nitens,* falluntque oculos rursusque reuisunt. *saepe nitent* MSS.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

# ON A FRAGMENT OF SOLON.

*Il ne faut discuter que lorsque l'on est de la même opinion* says a vir doctus apud the ever-fascinating Duchess d'Abrantès. And to discuss any further the unlucky couplet of Solon which Prof. Jebb defends so valiantly would certainly seem a sad waste of time. Yet considering some of the statements which he has made, in his article in the last number of the *Journal of Philology*, it is necessary to state a few facts in reply, which will enable any one who cares to make up his mind on the points at issue to do so without much trouble.

> ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον
> δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην ;

(1) "The reading of the second verse as interrogative... is in accordance with a suggestion of mine (made in 1891)... the Professor makes no reference to my responsibility for it, although that fact is twice stated on the page with which he is dealing." Jebb, *op. cit.* pp. 98, 99.

Mr Kenyon's first edition of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία appeared on January 30, 1891. On February 28th Dr Blass proposed the reading τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην ; in the *Literarisches Centralblatt.* This suggestion was reprinted in the *Classical Review* for April, 1891, and the first line was not satisfactorily restored till that number, and in the same paragraph. I had no means of knowing that at this time Professor Jebb had independently made the same proposal.

(2) "Theognis 255 f. :

> κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιότατον· λῷστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν·
> πρῆγμα δὲ τερπνότατον, τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ, τὸ τυχεῖν.

...'But' (says Prof. Platt, p. 261) 'the reading is in the highest degree uncertain.' Is it? *ἐρᾷ τὸ* is confirmed by the best MS., A, which has *ἐρᾶτο*: it gives good grammar and good sense; there is no intelligible variant." Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 100.

The variants are as follows:

(*α*) *ἥδιστον δὲ πέφυχ' οὗ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τυχεῖν.*
(*β*) *πάντων δ' ἥδιστον οὗ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τυχεῖν.*
(*γ*) *ἥδιστον δὲ τυχεῖν ὧν τις ἕκαστος ἐρᾷ.*

I say nothing of small and trifling variations.

(3) "Theognis 383—386:

*ἔμπης δ' ὄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα· τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ δειλῶν*
*ἔργων ἴσχονται θυμόν, ὅμως πενίην*
*μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες,*
*ἦτ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην.*

Here *τοὶ* is relative, but it becomes demonstrative if we accept A's reading, *ἴσχοντες*....The adoption of *ἴσχοντες* in a concessive sense...makes it awkward, or rather intolerable, to have a second participle, in the same sense, just afterwards. Ahrens, seeing this, proposed to change *φιλεῦντες* into *φιλεύντων* to agree with *ἀνδρῶν*: a fact which Prof. Platt does not mention." Jebb, *op. cit.*. p. 101.

Bergk reads *ἴσχονται...φιλεῦντος...ἀνδρός*. The objection therefore to *φιλεῦντες* does not seem to be the double participle. Nor do I understand this objection; I could fill pages with illustrations of such double participles; take one, Theognis 744:

*ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων*
*μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μηδ' ὅρκον ἀλιτρόν,*
*ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ.*

(4) "I have now examined Prof. Platt's accusation of... solecism in respect to *μὲν* without *δέ*: and I think that I may claim to have disproved his assertion." Jebb, *op. cit.* pp. 103, 104.

What I said was that *in Solon μὲν* always had an antithetical clause, and that here there is none. I never said that *μὲν* without *δὲ* was a solecism. I never said that Solon always

answered μὲν with δέ. To say, as Prof. Jebb does further, that an antithetical clause *can be supplied*, in no way touches my observation.

My statements with regard to the grammar of the couplet remain precisely where they were. There is no other instance in Greek verse to my knowledge, nor to Professor Jebb's knowledge (else he would have quoted it) of the article as a relative resumed by a demonstrative like τούτων[1]. There is no other instance in Solon of a μὲν without an antithetical clause *expressed*. Next let us go on to the meaning. I said that the version given by Dr Sandys was not in the Greek, and that if we construe the Greek fairly we get no sense. Well, what Dr Sandys said was that the lines mean: "Earth is my best witness whether I had cause enough to συναγαγεῖν the people without going on to do those things which I am blamed for not doing." Observe that Dr Sandys puts this as a *serious statement* in the mouth of Solon. It makes sense, because Dr Sandys has inserted the words "*whether I had cause enough*"; they are not in the Greek. And if you take them away the sense collapses.

But now Prof. Jebb says that the words are *not* a serious statement of Solon's own at all. "In the two verses now under discussion, Solon is quoting the question asked, after his legislation, by the malcontents among the popular party, who complained that he had not gone far enough. *They* had conceived that the aims with which he formed the popular party included a redistribution of property. '*Why*,' they asked, '*did Solon desist before he had attained those ends for which he united us in common action?*'"

So then Dr Sandys's version was wrong after all? Clearly this is not the same account of the matter. The lines are no longer seriously meant as an expression of Solon's own opinion; they are an ironical expression of the opinion of his adversaries. And the important words "*whether I had cause enough*" are now omitted.

[1] There are plenty in Herodotus, but apart from the uncertainty of his text he obviously will not help us. In the first book alone chapters 5, 57, 113, 124, 133, 173, 174, 177, 183, 193, but in later books they are rarer.

But does the new view make sense? Solon might well appeal to the Earth and the slaves he had liberated to say whether his reforms were or were not just. Appeal to them to say he had not redistributed property and plundered the rich he could not. If a lawyer asks his client to bear witness that he has done his best for him, that is reasonable; he would never ask him to bear witness that he had not been unfair to the prosecution. No, for *that* he would appeal to the prosecution itself.

Hence, ingenious as is Prof. Jebb's new version, I find myself constrained to reject it as much as the former.

Finally I should like to remark that the arguments against the passage are cumulative; they must be considered all together. There is no parallel quoted by Prof. Jebb to *τῶν* as a relative followed by *τούτων* in this way; there is no parallel in Solon to this use of *μέν*; and there is no satisfactory sense in the couplet when considered in connexion with what follows.

But meantime I have hit on another remedy somewhat better than my former. That, as I said, was a "leap in the dark," nor did I ever set much store by it. But suppose we read:

> *ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον,*
> *δῆμον δὲ τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην.*

"For *those* reasons did I gather together (rich and poor alike), but stopped before the *δῆμος* secured *these* ends." I am not blind to the objections which may be made to this also; I desiderate an accusative after *ξυνήγαγον*: I should prefer *τούτων δὲ δῆμον*. But at least *τῶν* has its proper sense, *μὲν* has its antithetical clause, and the couplet hangs together with what follows. "For *those* reasons," i.e. the slavery of his fellow-citizens and so on, "did I gather all together," many from strange lands, "but ceased before ruining the richer classes." Another man, he says a little further, would not have so ceased. Another difficulty, quite trifling in itself but worth something taken with the others, has also disappeared. Solon nowhere else pauses after the first foot of a trimeter, as I observed in my former paper. But of course his trimeters

are so few that no stress whatever could be laid upon this separately.

The change from τι to δὲ is not great; δὲ and τε are eternally confused, and τι and τε not seldom. At Q. Sm. viii. 423 Koechly and Zimmermann read οὐδὲ for οὔ τι.

But I fear the couplet is beyond the cure of any Aesculapius, unless the remedy be hidden somewhere among those priceless treasures we expect from Mr Grenfell.

ARTHUR PLATT.

## ORPHICA.

### I. *Argonautica.*

The text of this dreary poem is in a very bad condition, and drastic measures are often required. I have used Hermann's edition (1805), which includes notes of Stephanus, Eschenbach, and Gesner, and Abel's (1885). The notation is Abel's.

18. *Γηγενέων οἳ λυγρὸν ἀπ' Οὐρανοῦ ἐστάξαντο*
*σπέρμα γονῆς.*

*ἐκμάξαντο* Hermann, meaning I know not what—"moulded a melancholy birth" apparently. He defends it by Nicander *Ther.* 740:

*ὃς δὴ θαρσαλέην γενεὴν ἐκμάσσεται ἵππου,*

but *ἐκμάσσεται* there means "imitates." Read *ἐξάξαντο*, "deduced their origin." The giants sprang from the blood of Uranus according to Orphic legend; see frag. 44.

21. *θητείαν τε Ζηνός.*

*θητείην* Παιᾶνος, Abel with more zeal than discretion. I think that *θητείαν* is simply a transposition of *τηθείαν* "nursing" from *τήθη*. Whether *τήθη* could mean "*τίτθη*" or not is a disputed point; anyhow "the words are perpetually interchanged in MSS." (L. & S.); though *τηθεία* is not given, *τιτθεία* is, and if any one likes to go further and say that *τηθείαν* is here a corruption of *τιτθείαν* (or *τιτθείην*), let him do so by all means. Tales of the infancy of gods were a stock subject in Orphic, Eleusinian and similar gibberish.

91. καὶ γάρ ῥα ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα,
νείατον ἐς κευθμῶνα, λιτῆς ἐς πυθμένα γαίης,
μοῦνον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων πελάσαι καὶ νόστον ἀνευρεῖν...

After this the editors mark a lacuna. But all that is wanted is to read κευθμῶν' ἔτλης for κευθμῶνα, λιτῆς (with μοῦνος in the next line) and no lacuna need be assumed. And who will not be reminded of three of the loveliest lines in Dante (*Parad.* xxxi. 79)?

O Donna in cui la mia speranza vige
E che *soffristi* per la mia salute
In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige.

118. πρῶτα δὲ εἶδα βίην Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο.

εἶδα is a pretty form, is it not? But our author wrote πρῶτα δ' ἐσεῖδα, for this particular hiatus could not be paralleled from him and he is thinking of Homer λ 582, 593.

143. φθίσθαι ὑπὲρ Λιβύης, νόστον δ' οἴκοιο λαθέσθαι.

See Hermann's note. I should prefer νόστου δ' οἴκου τε λαθέσθαι to any correction there proposed. These genitive terminations in Epic verse are confused marvellously in MSS.—see e.g. 178 of this poem, where a line ends Ἀσκληπιοῖο εἵνεκα λώβης!

181. Λυγκεύς θ' ὃς τήλιστα δι' αἰθέρος ἠδὲ θαλάσσης
βένθεα...

What are αἰθέρος βένθεα? Read αἰθέρα τ' ἠδὲ.

183. μοῦνος ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων δεινοῖσιν ὀπώπεεν ὄσσοις.

Perhaps δεινοῖς ὠπώπεεν? Hermann indeed says in his generally admirable dissertation on the age of the writer that the vicious caesura is found in the poem four times, "quibus quidem locis ad negligentiam poetae magis quam ad aetatem indicandam utar." If there really were three other examples of it in him, I should leave 183 unquestioned. But are there? The other three alleged are

215. ναὶ μὴν καὶ δισσοὶ ὄρπηκες ἀμύμονες ἦκον.
669. σπεύδοντες προχοαῖς ἠδ' εἰνὶ νιφαργέσιν ὕλαις.
726. Ἴδμον' Ἀβαντιάδην Τίφύν τε κυβερνητῆρα.

Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera. The last two lines are Hermann's own emendations, and the peculiar beauty of it is that in his note on 669 he positively says "nostra emendatio nihil, puto, vitii relinquit," and then he talks of the negligence of the poet[1]. Besides, 669 is rank nonsense, and I shall have more to say of it later on. The only real instances therefore are 183 and 215, and I think it accordingly probable that 183 at any rate should be corrected. The other too looks rather strange and is very likely corrupt, but I see no way of emending it. Whether the form *ὠπώπεεν* is found elsewhere I doubt, but it is no stranger than many forms in this fellow.

220. Gesner's *θεῷ* for *θεοῦ* is, I think, right.

244. *αἶψα θοὸν ποτὶ κῦμα κατειρύσαι εὔλαλον Ἀργώ.*

I do not understand *θοὸν κῦμα*. Perhaps *αἶψ' ἅλιον*. If this were divided as *αἶψα λιον*, it might be changed by a bad guess to the text.

266. *δὴ τότ' ἐπιβρομέουσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλυε φηγός.*

It is plain that *ἔκλυε* is wrong, and I put down *ἔκραγε* against it. But on coming to 1156 I find *ἐπιβρομέουσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγός*, which is obviously right here too.

273. *ἐγήθει δὲ φρέν' Ἰήσων.*

Read *ἐγήθεε* as at 116. The poet uses a bacchius in this position occasionally but avoids it as a rule.

297. *Ἥρης ἐννεσίῃσι τετιμένον Αἴσονος υἱόν,*
*ὡς δή οἱ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἐσσομένοισιν ὄπαζεν.*

*ἦ* for *ὡς* Hermann, accounting for the corruption by the fact that the next line begins with *ὅς*. Better keep *ὡς* and read *ὀπάζοι*. The poet is thinking of such lines as *Od. a* 95.

315. *ζωοταμών· περὶ δ' αἷμα πυρῇ χέον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.*

"*ζωοτάμον* codd." says Abel. "*ζωοτάμνων* vulgo" says Hermann. Gesner defends *ζωοτάμνων* "cum *τάμνω* sit Homericum, et *μν* non faciat necessario positionem." I know not what deep

[1] The same bad scansion is introduced wantonly by Wiel, followed by Abel, at 933.

sleep has fallen upon all these commentators, nor where they can find such a compound as *ζωοτάμνω*, but it is quite clear what "Orpheus" said was *ζωοτομῶν*, like *καρατομῶν*.

*πυρῇ* Hermann for *πυρί*, and this is clearly the right reading though Abel deserts it. But *χέον*? surely Orpheus did not take the blood and pour it about. The poet is thinking of phrases like *Od.* λ 36, and what he wrote was *ῥέεν*.

371. *Τίφυς δ' ἀμπαύσας διὰ γῆς οἰήια χειρός.*

*δισσῆς* for *διὰ γῆς* codd. dett. *δολιχῆς οἰήια νηός* Hermann, though what he means neither he nor the editors who follow him tell us. "Stopping the rudder" is an unintelligible manœuvre. The Argonauts are sailing north and want to put in at Mount Pelion. The steersman would then turn his rudder to the left, and we should read *λαιῆς οἰήια χειρός*. Aeschylus has *λαιᾶς χειρὸς* for "on the left" (*Prom.* 714).

But what then is *ἀμπαύσας*? I could think of nothing better for it than *ἀγκλίνας*, which is at any rate as near as *νηὸς* is to *χειρός*. And so I was not a little pleased on arriving at 1205 to find *σκαιὸν ὑπεγκλίνας οἰήιον*, which seems to settle the question altogether.

*νηὸς* was an ancient variant for *χειρὸς* at *Od.* ε 277 and some modern editors actually adopt it. But it is nothing but a reckless and bad conjecture by some one who could not make *ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς* mean "on the left hand" logically. As if it were not the very essence of an idiom to be illogical! What would such critics make of the English "head over ears and in he fell" or the French "à qui mieux mieux"?

424. *πρεσβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα.*

We are here in the middle of a summary of the Orphic cosmogony, according to which "Love burst forth flower-fashion, a bird with gold on his wings" out of chaos. *αὐτοτελῆ* does not seem to me to suit the passage at all well. Probably we should read *αὐτογενῆ*. The two words are confused in the fragments; compare frag. 4, line 8 (= frag. 5, line 9) with frag. 6, line 10, the rest of the line in each case being filled up to suit the epithet.

436. θῆρες δ' ἀΐοντες ἀοιδῆς
σπήλυγγος προπάροιθεν ἀλυσκάζοντες ἔμιμνον.

Can ἔμιμνον be right? The beasts would rather dance to Orpheus than "remain," and ἀλυσκάζοντες certainly suggests movement, not rest. In the next line too we have οἰωνοί τ' ἐκυκλοῦντο. Read ἐδίνεον. Homer has δινεύεσκ' ἀλύων (Ω 12).

440. αὐτὰρ ὁρῶν Κένταυρος ἐθάμβεε, χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ
πυκνὸν ἐπισσείων.

καρπῷ is plainly wrong. χειρὶ Hermann, which is sense, παλμῷ Wiel, which is not. But a man in *surprise* does not clap his hands together, he smites his thigh, as Homer often tells us. Read μηρῷ, as μ and κ are often confused and κηρῷ might be turned into καρπῷ by a bad guess. At 205 the MSS. have ἔφηβος for Εὔφημος, which shows that corruption in our text may date from the period when μ was liable to be confused with β and κ.

Of course a Centaur (unless indeed he were an androcentaur) could not really slap his thigh, at least the process would be inconvenient and the Argonauts might have laughed at him. But our poet was just the man to repeat phrases with a parrot. However he certainly describes the Centaur as trampling with his hoofs in the next line.

460. Πήλιον ἐκνεύσαντες.

ἐκνεύειν may mean to "avoid" a sword or a blow (L. and S.). But the Argonauts are simply rowing away from Pelion, where they had landed; how can they be said to *avoid* it? Read εἰς νεύσαντες (or ἐς if ἐς it must be); the rowers would bend towards Pelion as they rowed out to sea.

475. For κεν read καί. The two words are often confused.

484. ἔνθεν ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπηώους φέρεν οὖρος,
ἀκραὴς Ζέφυρος, στεινῆς ἀπάτερθεν Ἀβύδου.

Abydos was no narrower than any other town, in fact Musaeus talks about εὐρέα δῆμον Ἀβύδου, and why should they sail ἀπάτερθεν? Read certainly καθύπερθεν Ἀβύδου (cp. *Od.* γ 170) and perhaps τείνας for στεινῆς. So far from keeping

*ἀπάτερθεν*, the Argonauts proceed to land on the east coast of the Hellespont.

510, 721. *φίλετο* in both these lines is altered to *φίλατο*. It is curious that the same corruption should have occurred in both independently, and considering how the poet revels in all manner of mixed aorists and strange forms, it may be better to let this also *μετὰ τοῖσι γενέσθαι*.

643. *τοῦ δ' ἀφαμαρτήσαντος Ὕλας ἐξίκετο νηὸς*
*λάθρη ἐπισπόμενος.*

Heracles having gone ashore to hunt, Hylas goes after him. No one has put a plausible interpretation upon *ἀφαμαρτήσαντος*. Read *τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἁμαρτήσας ἅμ' Ὕλας*. *ἅμ'* having dropped out *ἁμαρτήσας* has been put into the genitive with *τοῦ* for *τῷ* to fill up the scansion. The poet was thinking of *Od.* *φ* 188:

*τὼ δ' ἐκ ϝοίκου βῆσαν ἁμαρτήσαντες ἅμ' ἄμφω.*

As in some other places he has not applied his knowledge of Homer very well, for Hylas could hardly be said strictly *ἁμαρτεῖν*, when he only followed.

667. *ἔνθα δ' ἀφορμηθέντες ὑπ' εἰρεσίῃ τε καμόντες*
*Βιθυνῶν μέγα ἄστυ βαθείῃ κέλσαμεν ἀκτῇ*
*σπεύδοντες προχοαῖς ἠδ' ἐν νιφαργέσιν ὕλαις*
*ἔσπεροι αὐλισθέντες ἐφοπλισσάμεθα δόρπον.*

This passage is desperately corrupt. And the contributions of the commentators to elucidating it are hardly considerable enough to deserve mention. I conceive that it should run somewhat as follows:

*ἔνθεν ἀφορμηθέντες ὑπ' εἰρεσίῃ τε καμόντες*
*Βιθυνῶν μέγα ἄστυ * * *
*<ἐν ποταμοῦ> προχοαῖσι βαθείῃ κέλσαμεν ἀκτῇ*
*σπεύδοντες * * <ὅπως> ἐνὶ ταρφέσιν ὕλης*
*ἔσπεροι αὐλισθέντες ἐφοπλισσαίμεθα δόρπον.*

At 667 *ἔνθεν* is surely right for *ἔνθα δ'*. Then at 668 there is nothing to govern *ἄστυ*; some participle has dropped out. In the next line the critics admit sorrowfully that they

can make neither head nor tail of *σπεύδοντες προχοαῖς* or of *νιφαργέσιν*. Obviously *προχοαῖς* must mean at the mouth of a river and we may be practically certain that Orpheus said *ἐν ποταμοῦ προχοαῖς* or *προχοῇσι* (if *προχοαῖσι* is impossible in this poem which I much doubt). That *ἐν νιφαργέσιν ὕλαις* conceals *ἐνὶ ταρφέσιν ὕλης*, a Homeric phrase, can I think hardly be questioned; some may prefer *ταρφέσιν ὕλαις*, but I take it that *ὕλαις* was changed to agree with *νιφαργέσιν* when that was supposed to be an adjective. Something must then be inserted to govern *ἐφοπλισσαίμεθα*; *ὅπως*, if my memory serve me, does not occur elsewhere in the *Argonautica* but surely the poet might have used it. *ἐφοπλισσαίμεθα* is the best reading to judge from Hermann's *apparatus:* "vulgo *ἐφοπλισσάμεθα*, Voss. *ἐφωπλισσάμεθα*, Ruhnk. Vind. *ἐφοπλισσοίμεθα*." But Abel gives the MSS. reading as *ἐφοπλισσώμεθα* which would do just as well.

The Homeric phrase (O 606 and cp. E 555) is *βαθέης ἐνὶ ταρφέσιν ὕλης*. This would suggest that *βαθείῃ* has got into the wrong place as *προχοαῖς* has done. And *βαθείῃ ἀκτῇ* is no doubt an odd phrase, but perhaps may mean "deep sand." Also *σπεύδοντες* very likely did not begin its line.

686. *ξυμβλῆτες πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἰοῦσαι.*

Look at the past tenses all round, and read *ξυμβλῆτες συνέπιπτον*. The *ductus litterarum* would suggest *τ' ἐσέπιπτον* but I cannot persuade myself that the *τε* can be construed, and we have *σύμπεσον* at 699.

748. *οὗ Σίνδης ὄρος αἰπὺ πολύς τ' εὐθαλέα λειμών.*

Hermann desperately writes *καὶ εὐθαλέες λειμῶνες*, not attempting to account for *πολύς*. Probably Orpheus said *πόης τ' εὐθαλέα* and then some word like *φορβά* (see 1113) which has been replaced by *λειμών* either as a gloss or a supplement. This would at least account for the MSS. reading.

As for *εὐθᾱλέα*, I can see no reason for doubting it. Very likely the poet may have been hazy on the distinction between *εὐθᾰλὴς* and *εὐθᾱλής*, but even if he was not, there was no reason why he should not use a word he might get from Pindar. And we know that he read his Pindar; see 55.

749. ἔνθα δ' Ἀράξεω ῥεῦμα μεγαβρεμέτου ποταμοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ Θερμώδων, Φᾶσις Τάναΐς τε ῥέουσιν.

Three rivers cannot flow out of another. Read εἰς ὃν.

752. μυχάτοις ἐπεπλείομεν ὅρμοις
Οὔρων Χινδαίων τε.

But the Argo only sailed *by* these people. Hence Slothouwer proposes μυχάτους παρεπλείομεν ὅρμους. But what are the ὅρμοι? Read οὔρους, which has got into the next line as a proper name of a fabulous nation no one ever heard of; the real name has disappeared altogether and it were idle to guess at it.

758. ἐρχομένης ἠοῦς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον.

Apollonius Rhodius (iv 633) has ἐπὶ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος καὶ ἀπείρονα κόλπον, and no doubt we should here read κόλπον for κόσμον. Curiously enough at 262 the MSS. give πόντον for κόσμον, excellently restored by Abel. ἀπείρονα κόσμον in the Orphic Hymns XI 20 and XIII 4 is quite different; there κόσμον means the universe, which is not appropriate here.

800. Read ὕπερ for ὑπέρ.

808. ἀθανάτοις ἰκέλους· περὶ γάρ οἱ τεύχεα λάμπε.

To call people like gods because their arms glitter upon them seems too feeble for anything. By reading πέρι we may contrive to get a little better sense, though it is still bad enough.

816. οἱ Hermann for κεν. Better καί.

825. Place a mark of interrogation after μάχεσθαι.

843. ὄψε δὲ δὴ Μινύαισι τοίην ἀνενείκατο φωνήν.

Μινύαις Abel. Better read Μινύαισι τόσην. Speaking from memory I should say that τόσην (not τοίην) ἀνενείκατο φωνήν is the regular formula; you will certainly find it at Musaeus 121, and thrice in Coluthus. I doubt the expediency of changing to Μινύῃσι as the editors are continually doing in this poem.

904. *εἰ μή τις τελετὰς πελάσει καὶ θύσθλα καθαρμῶν.*

*τελεταῖς* MSS., apparently to give some construction to *πελάσει*, though the would-be corrector should have taken trouble further to write *θύσθλοις τε* for *καὶ θύσθλα*. But it is *πελάσει* itself which is wrong. The future tense is indeed just defensible, but that it is not altogether natural may be seen from Schneider's conjecture *πελάσαι*. Read *τελετάς τε δαῇ*.

974. *ἣ μὲν γὰρ δέμας ἔσχε σιδήρεον, ἣν καλέουσι*
*Πανδώρην χθόνιοι.*

Read *εἶχε* (*ἔχε* one MS.) and *χθονίην*.

993. For *ὑπ'* read *ἐπ'*.

1007. *κοιμήσας δ' ὅ γε φῦλα πανημερίων ἀνθρώπων.*

*πανημερίων* is absurd, as are Gesner's and Hermann's explanations of it. Can *πανηγερέων* be the original, like *ὁμηγερέες*? Sleep lulls *all* men to rest *together*.

1022. *ὣς οἳ μὲν περὶ κῶας ὀπώπεον.*

*ὁμίλεον* Abel. Rather *ἐποίπνυον*. (I since find myself anticipated in this, but leave it if haply it may help to influence some future editors.)

1038. *πλεῖον ἐπειγόμενοι ποταμοῦ τόμον.*

*τόμον* is supposed to mean an *arm* of the river, but there is nothing in the passage to suggest this, and *τόμος* would be a very strange word for it. *τόνον*? see L. & S. s. v. III.

1079. *ἐκ δ' ἄφαρ Ἀργὼ*
*ἄγεν ἐπιπροθέουσα διὰ στεινοῖο ῥεέθρου.*

For *ἄγεν* read *ἄξεν*.

1089. *χεῖρες δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνον.*

They were so tired they could row no longer, but what a way of expressing it! However it may be defended; it is an echo of *Iliad* Π 102: *Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε*. There *ἔμιμνε* means "held his ground," hence our poet uses it badly for "held out" in any way.

1102. *οὐ γάρ οἱ λιγὺς οὖρος ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν ὄρινε*
*βυκτάων ἀνέμων κείνην ἅλα.*

*κείνην* or *κλεινήν* MSS. *κεινήν* Hermann. It certainly looks as if *κείνην* were a correction of the meaningless *κλεινήν*, nor does *κεινήν* improve upon *κείνην*. What an "empty sea" is I do not know. We must start from *κλεινὴν* therefore which is the most likely to put us on the right track. And what it at once suggests is *λείην*; if there were no winds, the sea would naturally be *smooth*.

1115. *πάντες ὁμῶς στίλβοντες ὁμηλικίην ἐρατεινήν.*

Read *ὁμηλικίῃ ἐρατεινῇ*. The hiatus would cause corruption, but is perfectly lawful.

1123. *ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ῥίπαιον ὄρος καὶ Κάλπιος αὐχὴν*
*ἀντολίας εἴργουσιν.*

For *ἐν* read *ἐκ*.

1131. *θείει χρυσορόας Ἀχέρων κρυεροῦ διὰ χώρου.*

*χρυσορόας* should at least be *χρυσορόης*, but I do not understand why Acheron should assume the epithet of Pactolus. Besides the next line goes on with *ἀργυροειδὲς ὕδωρ προρέων* and this antithesis of gold and silver is simply silly. *χερσορόης* would not be an entirely inconceivable word, and the peculiarity of Acheron's flowing above ground, as it here does, might well be marked by an epithet.

1188. *Λυγκεὺς εἰσενόησεν ὃ γὰρ τήλιστον ὄπωπε.*

Read *ὀπώπει*.

1201. *ἀλλά οἱ ἠλίβατος πέτρη περὶ πάντα πέφυκεν*
*ὑψηλή· τὰ δὲ καλὰ φύει μενοεικέα δῶρα.*

Heyne, suo more, wished to expel the second of these lines as spurious. What it is supposed by the editors to mean I cannot conceive. If *κᾶλα* could be used for *trees* we should get a meaning, and it is not perhaps beyond our poet's audacity.

1204. *ἀνέτρεψε δ' αἶψ' ἀνορώων.*

*ἀνέτρεψεν δ' ἀναρώων* Schneider. Rather *ἀνέτρεπε δ' ἂψ ἀναρώων*.

1226. Ὦ δειλή, τί νύ σοι τοίην Κύπρις ὤπασε μοῖραν;
οὐ γάρ τοι λελάθεσθε, τάπερ ῥέξαντες ἱκνεῖσθε
νῆσον ἐφ' ἡμετέρην πανετώσιον.

These are the first words of Circe to Medea. It is very flat of her to say: "you have not forgotten." Read *οὐ γάρ τοί μ' ἔλαθές γε*. The singular is quite natural after the preceding line. But *πανετώσιον* is also wrong; the word gives no satisfactory meaning and has no proper construction. Probably the original was an adjective agreeing with *νῆσον* but I cannot guess what.

1237. *σῖτον καὶ μέθυ λαρὸν ἔχειν καὶ κρέα πολλά.*

Read *καὶ κρείατα πολλά.*

1240. *ἂν δ' ἄρ' ἐπειγομένοισι θέειν λιγὺς οὖρος ἀήτης.*

*αὐτὰρ* for *ἂν δ' ἄρ'*, *ἀῆναι* for *ἀήτης* Hermann, both probably rightly. But what then is *θέειν*? "*οὖρος ἀήτης* non dicitur," no, nor *οὖρος θέειν* neither. When a goddess sends visitors away from her island, it is her custom, like a Lapland witch's, to "give them a wind," as *Od.* ε 268, μ 149. Circe being the goddess here in question, it is likely that the author would have the latter of these two passages in mind: *ἴκμενον οὖρον ἴει πλησίστιον.* So here he wrote *ἐπειγομένοισιν ἴει λιγὺν οὖρον ἀῆναι.* Or perhaps *ἴεν*, but where a line has gone so far in decay as this one, it is hardly worth while to trouble about a letter more or less.

1258. *κοίλῳ ἐπὶ λυγρῷ δὲ περιστροφάδην ἀλάλητο.*

Read certainly *κοίλῳ ἐφ' εἱλιγμῷ δὲ* and perhaps *ἐλέλικτο.* The Argo is spinning round in the whirlpool of Charybdis, and *ἀλάλητο* is scarcely the right word.

1263. *καὶ ὑπ' ἰλύος ἐξεσάωσε.*

Still Charybdis. Clearly *mud* was not the danger. Qu. *ἰλλύος*? Hesychius says *εἰλὺς = ἰλύς*, but surely *εἰλὺς* would be connected with *εἴλω*, *εἴλυμα* and so on, and *ἰλλὺς* would stand to it as *ἴλλω* to *εἴλω*. Schneider had objected to *ἰλύος* before me and conjectured *αἴδος* or *εἴλιγγός τ' ἐσάωσε.*

1321. *οὐ μὲν δὴ φίλον ἐστὶν ἀπό σφ' ὥσασθαι ὁμεύνου,*
*λέκτρων τε στερέσαι λῦσαί τ' ἐκ πυρσὸν ἔρωτος.*

*ἀπό σφ' ὥσασθαι* is Hermann's conjecture. The old vulgate *ἀπορρώσασθαι* is perfectly right, I think. The active *ῥώω* is almost certainly found at 1204, *ἀναρώων*, and the first aorist middle might be expected to have the active sense. (At 1257 *ἀναρρώσασθαι* in intransitive use is read, but the MSS. have *ἀναρρώσεσθαι* and I suspect the original was *ἀναρρώεσθαι*.)

With the next line compare the pretty line of Musaeus :

*σὺν βλεφάρων δ' ἀκτῖσιν ἀέξετο πυρσὸς ἐρώτων.*

And *πυρσὸς* is used in a similar way several times in the *Anthology*. But our poet has used it as badly as usual, and spoilt a good metaphor. *ἐκλῦσαι* is the important word, it is breaking off a marriage that is condemned, and *πυρσὸν ἔρωτος* is used as a mere periphrasis for *ἔρωτα*. The difference between *ἔρωτος* and *ἐρώτων* is significant of the two poets' scansion; Musaeus, like the other very highly polished late epic writers, always ends a line with a long syllable if he can; our poet does not care about such niceties.

ARTHUR PLATT.

# A HOMERIC IDIOM DEFENDED.

Till quite recently it has been an unchallenged view that the optative with κεν or ἂν was used by the Homeric poets in the same sense as a past tense of the indicative with the same particles. That there are many instances of this in the Alexandrine text cannot be denied, and it is much harder to imagine how the idiom should have got into it if it is not Homeric, than it is to believe that it is genuine. The very distinguished critics who have lately called it in question do not appear to have considered the problem from that point of view. Nor do I understand their logic. Is it that an idiom which is not Attic cannot be Homeric, and therefore καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο is not Homeric Greek for "he would have perished"? But if so we can equally well prove that κεν itself is not Homeric. And why not argue that an idiom which is not Homeric cannot be Attic? Because we learn Attic grammar first, and can never quite throw off its influence when we come to Homer; I know no better reason.

But I for one should scarcely have taken pen in hand to defend the orthodox position if this had been all. What has long troubled me is the occurrence of this idiom twice with the *present* optative. That it should be found with the aorist seems much simpler and more natural and till quite lately I did grievously suspect the present. I think I may claim to have shewn that the aorist infinitive retains a very definite past sense in one idiom which has been lost to Attic, after μέλλω; it therefore is not surprising that we should find the aorist optative with a stronger past sense in Homer than it has in Attic. But the present optative is a very different affair. And

if the aorist was commonly used in this way we can easily understand that a couple of presents might have intruded by mistake into the Alexandrine text.

Two considerations however favour strongly the belief that the present optative, though much rarer, is nevertheless genuine. In the first place these conditional clauses referring to past time are apt to get into confusion in many languages. Thus we find Burke himself writing: "Such a prodigy *would have* filled any common man with superstitious fears. He *would* exorcise that shapeless nameless form and by everything sacred *would have* adjured it to tell..." (*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts*, paragraph 18). Here we actually have a present thrust in between two aorists in a conditional sentence. There are instances also in Shakespeare. Again in French one always says *Je serais mort* for *I should have died*; in such a case as Bourget, *Cruelle Énigme*, p. 129: "Si cette horrible aventure avait duré, je serais morte," it is true that *I should be* (*now*) *dead* is logical, but it is not so with the following: "Il serait mort de confusion s'il avait demandé sa route à qui que ce fût" (Cherbuliez, *Amours Fragiles*, p. 232). Then for Italian take *Paradiso* XV 127: "Saria tenuta allor tal maraviglia," and compare XXVII 85 and XXXIII 77. The use of the present subjunctive for the pluperfect in Latin is similar, as Virgil *Aeneid* VIII 691 and often in Plautus. Again Firdausī's favourite *guftī* (thou wouldst have said) is like εἴποις κε, but now and then he drops into *gū,ī*, which is λέγοις κε properly; Homer always says φαίης. Finally in Spanish such an idiom is the commonest thing in the world, indeed it is the regular (though not universal) construction; the most striking sentence I know to illustrate this is the following: "Huélgome porque todavía *sintiera* pena y me *dolieran* mis carnes viéndolas despedazadas y tragar de aquellos que con tan buena voluntad lo *hicieran*, y yo mismo lo *hiciera* por no diferenciar de los de mi ser y dar con esto causa á ser sentido." *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Segunda Parte, cap. iv (the earlier of the two second parts).

Such confusion being then so common, why should it not be found in Homer?

And the second consideration is this. The two passages in question are N 343, *μάλα κε θρασυκάρδιος εἴη | ὃς τότε γηθήσειε ϝιδὼν πόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο*, and P 70, *ἔνθα κε ῥεῖα φέροι κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πανθοΐδαο | Ἀτρεΐδης, εἰ μή ϝοι ἀγάσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*. The two verbs *εἴη* and *φέροι* are evidently exceptional in one respect of great importance for this question; they have no aorist of their own, and so it is not strange to find the present optative doing duty for the aorist. That it is no baseless speculation that a present may be used for an aorist when no proper aorist is to be had, can be shewn clearly by an examination of the optative as used in wishes.

I find in my notes 105 pure optatives of this kind from the *Odyssey*, and I believe the list is pretty complete. It is necessary to divide them into two classes, those which express a wish vaguely referring to any (mostly future) time, and those which refer distinctly to the present. Thus *ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος* is indefinite, *εἴθ' ὡς ἡβάοιμι* is definite. As might be expected, we find the present of the optative used in the latter class; and as a matter of fact we find the aorist used in the former. Such phrases as *αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ϝέπος τετελεσμένον εἴη* may be included among the presents. Very rarely we find an aorist or pluperfect referring to *past* time; this is very clear in *σ* 79: *νῦν μήτ' εἴης, βουγάϊε, μήτε γένοιο*, and *σ* 237: *νεύοιεν κεφαλὰς...λελυῖντο δὲ γυῖα*...(not "would that they might be some time reduced to that condition," but "would that they were now in it"). I do not recollect any other instance of this use in Homer, but it is very significant, and I do not remember that it has yet found its way into the grammars.

The present is very rare except with *εἴην*. We have *δυναίμην* (= *δυνατὸς εἴην*) at *ι* 523, and *ἡβάοιμι* along with *εἴη* at *ξ* 468 and 503. The aorist of all sorts of verbs is on the other hand exceedingly common.

Now let us look at the exceptions to the rule. There is no instance of an aorist used when the present would be expected, but there are several on the other side. *β* 232, repeated in the probably spurious *ε* 10, *χαλεπός τ' εἴη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέζοι*: *θ* 409, *ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι*: *ν* 44, *ἐϋφραίνοιτε* pre-

ceded by *ποιήσειαν* and *εὕροιμι* and followed by *ὀπάσειαν* and again *εἴη*: *ξ* 408, *εἶεν*: 496, *εἴη*: *σ* 141, *ἀθεμίστιος εἴη | ἀλλ' ὅγε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι*: *υ* 64, *οἴχοιτο*, preceded by *ἕλοιο* and followed by *βάλοι*. Thus *ῥέζοι*, *ἐϋφραίνοιτε* and *ἔχοι*, the only verbs among them which have aorists, either follow *εἴη* and are so to say attracted into the present by it, or are mixed up with aorists so that there is no possibility of a mistake in the meaning arising from the incorrect present. The others are the often recurring *εἴην* with one instance each of *φέροιεν* and *οἴχοιτο*, none of which have any aorist of their own.

Are we not justified on a review of this evidence in saying (1) that the tenses of the optative are more differentiated in Homeric than in Attic Greek, and therefore that it is not in the least astonishing that *ἀπόλοιτό κεν* should mean "would have perished," especially when we actually find *μὴ γένοιο* meaning "would that thou hadst never been born," and (2) that when a verb has no aorist of its own the present optative may be used instead, and therefore that it is not in the least astonishing to find *φέροι* and *εἴη* at P 70 and N 343 instead of the aorist, especially when those two presents have actually appeared again doing duty for aorists in this other enquiry? Here ends the main argument. But it may be as well to append a few remarks.

(1) It is not very easy to say exactly which optatives express actual wishes. Thus I do not think *ἔχοις* and *ϝανάσσοις* at *α* 402 can be called wishes; if we consider the preceding lines we should say they mean: "anyhow you can keep your possessions and reign over your own house." Eurymachus certainly does not *wish* it. He goes on to express a wish in the next line in a very different tone. For my own part I should like to think that the optatives in the following lines were wishes:

> *δεσμοὶ μὲν τρὶς τόσσοι ἀπείρονες ἀμφὶς ἔχοιεν,*
> *ὑμεῖς δ' εἰσοράοιτε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι,*
> *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν εὕδοιμι παρὰ χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ.*
> (*θ* 340—342.)

For as the aorist would then be the right tense it would be

a further bit of evidence against the lay of Demodocus. But I cannot think them an independent wish; they are a development of the preceding line, *αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο*, and represent a sort of mixture between a wish and a statement of what would be the fact, a conditional sentence without *κεν*. Exactly like this are the lines *ξ* 193 seqq.

> *εἴη μὲν νῦν νῶιν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἠμὲν ἐδωδὴ*
> *ἠδὲ μέθυ γλυκερὸν κλισίης ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσι,*
> *δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ', ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ῥέργον ἔποιεν·*
> *ῥηιδίως κεν ἔπειτα κ.τ.λ.*

No one can say this is a wish; it means "suppose we had food, etc."

(2) Some further evidence for the aorist use of *ἦν* and *ἔφερον*. In a simile (Φ 495) we find *ἦεν* when we should expect an aorist, though it may be possible to explain it otherwise; anyhow the fact remains that the only imperfect to be found in a simile in Homer is this word. In the phrase *χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα* we should expect an aorist participle, but no doubt Homer is somewhat careless in such matters. At *ι* 349 *σοὶ δ' αὖ λοιβὴν φέρον* clearly means "I have brought it," and one would rather expect an aorist. In *ο* 378 *φέρεσθαι* occurs along with four aorists. M 96: *ὃν Ἀρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι*, "whom his steeds *had* borne." Π 669 and 679: *φέρων* = aorist participle. The phrase used of the divine sandals, *τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν | ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῇσ' ἀνέμοιο*, is somewhat strange, and perhaps not to be paralleled in Homer, but is repeated too often to allow of any suggestion of corruption. We should expect either a gnomic aorist or a present, and *φέρει* would have scanned just as well. To suppose that Homer would have used *φέρον* in place of a gnomic aorist appears out of the question; and it ought to have been augmented besides. We must say that the past tense is due to the preceding past tense *ἐδήσατο*, and is illogically attracted into it from the present, just as we find Xenophon writing *ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διεῖχε δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα*, and *ἀπῆλθε...εἰς Λεύκοφρυν*,

ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν (*Hellenica* II i 21, III ii 19). But the strongest instance of φέρον is Hesiod, *Opp.* 657,

ἔνθα μέ φημι
ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα,

where the epic idiom cries aloud for an aorist.

(3) The frequency of the idiom here defended is strangely underrated. Goodwin talks of "four cases" and tries vainly to explain some others away, and actually in another place (§ 531) quotes N 343 and translates it wrong: "anyone who would then rejoice would be very stout-hearted," whereas a moment's reflection would have shewn (or would shew) him that it means "anyone who then should have rejoiced, would have been stout-hearted." One could not wish for a better illustration of the confusion naturally arising in sentences of the kind. The truth is that we are so habituated to Attic idiom that we come to Homer with our minds saturated with it and construe him accordingly so as to make nonsense of him; it is only in very glaring instances that the Homeric use of the optative is actually forced upon our attention. The following is a pretty full list of the instances. A 232, ἦ γὰρ ἂν Ἀτρεΐδη νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο, which must mean "else this had been thy last insult," A 272 μαχέοιτο, read μαχέσαιτο, B 242 = A 232, B 373, τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε, Γ 53, γνοίης κε, "thou wouldst have discovered," 220, φαίης κε, 223, ἂν ἐρίσσειε, not quite a certain instance, Δ 223, ἂν ϝίδοις, 290 = B 373, Δ 429, κε φαίης, 539, κεν ὀνόσαιτο, E 85, ἂν γνοίης, 311, κεν ἀπόλοιτο, 388 ditto, K 171, κεν καλέσειεν, not a clear case, M 59, κεν ἐσβαίη, N 127, ἄν κεν ὀνόσαιτο, 343, see above, Ξ 54, κεν παρατεκτήναιτο, not clear, O 697, φαίης κε, P 70, see above, 366, κε φαίης, 399, κ' ὀνόσαιτο, T 90, ἀλλὰ τί κε ῥέξαιμι; Ω 565, κε τλαίη, 566, ἂν λάθοι, 567, κε μετοχλίσσειε, α 254, κεν ἐφείη, γ 124, κε φαίης, δ 64, κε τέκοιεν, not clear, ε 74, κε θηήσαιτο καὶ τερφθείη, θ 177, κεν τεύξειε, which considering the context surely means "could have made," 280, κε ϝίδοιτο, not clear, ι 242, ἂν ὀχλίσσειαν, ν 87, κεν ἁμαρτήσειεν, τ 569, κε γένοιτο, which must mean "would have been," considering the previous clause. It is difficult to avoid taking τίς κ' ὀΐοιτο

at χ 12 in the same way; if we must so take it, it is another instance of an incorrect use of the present. It is also at least possible that εἴη at ψ 184 means "it would have been."

The number of lines in which the optative aorist may with great advantage be so construed is so great that I will only refer to a few. At δ 167 *οἵ κεν ἀλάλκοιεν κακότητα* should be construed "who would in that case have defended him"; at δ 205 it is perhaps better to construe *ῥείποι καὶ ῥέξειε* "as a wise man would have said and done in your place" than "would say and do," at υ 392 *γένοιτο* considering the context seems better taken in the same way. But the two phases of thought melt so insensibly into one another that in passage after passage it is impossible to decide which is the better rendering, and one has to acquiesce again in the remark of Haupt, that the first stage is to translate, the second to see that translation is impossible.

(4) Up to the present I have assumed the idiom to be not Attic. But was it not? Look at these passages: Aristophanes *Knights* 413: *ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν ἀπομαγδαλιὰς σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφείην.* (Mr Merry quotes Homer on the subject and Plato *Apology* 33 E, but the last passage is quite inconclusive and proves nothing.) Aristophanes it may be said was a poet and constrained by verse, but what of the orators? Antipho 126: *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν πῶς ἂν ἐπιβουλεύσαιμι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ;* Lysias 154: *οὐδ' οἱ πάλαι πλούσιοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἄξια λόγου ἔχοιεν ἂν ἐξενεγκεῖν.* Lycurgus 167: *καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἂν μετάσχοιεν.* The first and last of these three sentences seem to me to be clear instances of an aorist optative used where the correct mood would be the indicative. May be it is only an accident, and the authors would have corrected the words had their attention been called to them; that shews how liable such accidents are to arise. The instance from Lysias is not perhaps quite conclusive.

Two other passages might be quoted, but wrongly so in my opinion though I do not know whether I shall find any one to agree with me. They are Isaeus II § 22: *ἐγὼ τοίνυν πάντας*

ἂν οἶμαι ὁμολογῆσαι ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποιησάμενος ἄλλον οἰκειότερον ἐμοῦ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν. And Lycurgus 159: καίτοι γε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπομείναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτόν τι διαπεπραγμένῳ. Now in oratio recta ποιήσαιτο and ὑπομείναι would be ἐποιήσατο and ὑπέμειναν; the optative, I fancy, is due simply to their being in oratio obliqua. Compare Xenophon *Hellenica* IV vii 4: ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, where Mr Manatt says that the optative "can scarcely be correct," and tries to get out of the difficulty in a way I confess I cannot understand; I think that σείσειε is a perfectly natural change from ἔσεισεν and that the only strange thing is that we do not find such a change very often. Similarly I feel sure that those grammarians are mistaken who deny the possibility of a gnomic aorist in the infinitive in oratio obliqua, as at *Ajax* 1083; *Antigone* 478 exhibits an aorist participle of the same kind.

(5) It would be possible to consider that λέγοι κε in Homer corresponds to ἔλεγεν ἂν and εἴποι κε to εἶπεν ἄν. Such a distinction does appear to hold in Herodotus (Postgate *on ἂν with historic tenses* in *Cambridge Philological Transactions* vol. iii, p. 61). But if this were so we should surely have more numerous examples in Homer of the present optative against the aorist, and at P 70 φέροι clearly corresponds to ἤνεγκεν, not ἔφερεν.

ARTHUR PLATT.

## ON CICERO PRO CLUENTIO, §§ 115, 116.

One of the most powerful arguments employed by the prosecuting counsel in the case of Cluentius was that in previous trials of other persons his guilt had been decided again and again. And accordingly Cicero felt it vital to the success of his defence to show that none of these decisions constituted what Roman phrase called a *praeiudicium* against his client.

One of the cases cited by the accuser was that of P. Septimius Scaeuola, a *iudex* in the trial of Oppianicus, and suspected of having been bribed by Cluentius to vote for the condemnation of that defendant. Scaeuola was condemned under the *lex de repetundis* for malversation in Apulia; cf. *pro Cluentio* § 117 'Scaeuola condemnatus est aliis criminibus, frequentissimis Apuliae testibus': but the court in fixing the penalty (*litis aestimatio*) took into account his conduct in the trial of Oppianicus, and a 'capital' penalty was awarded 'omni contentione pugnatum est ut lis haec capitis aestimaretur.' Cicero meets this argument of the prosecuting counsel by denying plumply that a *litis aestimatio* was a *iudicium;* 'profertur id quod *iudicium appellari non potuit*, P. Septimio Scaeuolae litem eo nomine esse aestimatam.' And he supports this denial in a short argumentative passage which I will quote entire.

"Cuius rei quae consuetudo sit, quoniam apud homines peritissimos dico, pluribus verbis docere non debeo. numquam enim ea diligentia, quae solet adhiberi in ceteris iudiciis, eadem reo damnato adhibita est. in litibus aestimandis fere iudices aut, quod sibi eum, quem semel condemnarunt, inimicum putant esse, si quae in eum lis capitis inlata est, non admittunt, aut, quod se perfunctos iam esse arbitrantur, cum de reo iudicarunt,

neglegentius attendunt cetera. itaque et maiestatis absoluti sunt permulti, quibus damnatis de pecuniis repetundis lites maiestatis essent aestimatae, et hoc cottidie fieri uidemus, ut reo damnato de pecuniis repetundis, ad quos peruenisse pecunias in litibus aestimandis statutum sit, eos idem[1] iudices absoluant: quod cum fit, non iudicia rescinduntur, sed hoc statuitur, aestimationem litium non esse iudicium."

In the third sentence the words 'non admittunt' can only mean what they are generally understood to mean, 'do not allow the 'capital' penalty,' or in other words, exercise their choice of alternative sentences in favour of the accused. This involves the supposition that the most skilful of advocates starts in his task of minimising the importance of a severe *litis aestimatio* by suggesting that a large number of these assessments of penalty are too mild! Such maladroitness is conceivable, but in itself hardly credible. Let us see if it is necessary to assume it.

In the first place no parallel, so far as I know, has been adduced for the use of 'non admittunt.' Whether it jars on his sense of Latinity, each scholar must decide for himself; certainly it affects mine uncomfortably. In any case it is not the regular phrase for the action of a court in imposing less than the maximum penalty; *remittere* would be expected, as in Livy 3. 58. § 10 'ipso remittente Verginio ultimam poenam.'

Again, the statement in question does not only appear to be malapropos as argument and unusual as Latin, but to conflict with probability and disagree with what we know of human nature. The *iudices*, Cicero tells us, have condemned an accused and are under the impression that they have thus turned him into a personal enemy. It is proposed by the prosecutor that he should be punished 'capitally' (lis capitis inlata est). If the *iudices* accept this, they are safe; their enemy is no longer in Rome. But according to the text and its interpreters they decline to accept it and impose a lighter sentence. *Why?*

There is yet another proof, which appears to be itself decisive that this is not the meaning of Cicero. He says 'quem *semel*

[1] *eos idem* Baiter, *eosdem* the codices. The slight alteration is necessary: cf. *pro Rabirio Postumo* § 36.

condemnarunt.' A *iudex* argues very naturally as follows: 'I have condemned this man once: he is now my enemy. Why should I spare him to my own peril? litem capitis aestimabo.' What sense or relevance there is in *semel* with the ordinary interpretation, I completely fail to discover. I cannot then resist the conclusion that the text gives the opposite meaning to that intended by Cicero, and that we must write *non* RE*mittunt*.

For the sake of clearness I subjoin a brief sketch of the argument. 'The case of Septimus Scaevola is quoted against us. It is irrelevant. A *litis aestimatio* is not a legal decision, as *iudices* of your legal knowledge are well aware. A court never gives the same conscientious attention when assessing a penalty as in trying an accused. Mostly, they refuse to mitigate the extreme penalty because they do not wish to expose themselves to the vengeance of one whom they regard as already their enemy, or they think that their duty ended when they found the prisoner guilty, and so they do not attend properly to what follows. Hence we find that persons who, when tried and condemned for *repetundae*, have been sentenced as if they had been guilty of *maiestas*, have notwithstanding been acquitted of *maiestas* when brought to trial on that charge; and we find cases where, after a man has been condemned for *repetundae* and it has been declared in the *litis aestimatio* that certain persons have shared his illicit gains, these persons have been formally tried and acquitted by the same court which had declared them guilty. These cases do not prove *iudicia* are upset, but only that a *litis aestimatio* is not a *iudicium*. Similarly in Scaeuola's case. He was *tried* on an entirely different charge, which was proved by a crowd of witnesses. Every stone was turned to secure a 'capital' penalty. But no one ever dreamed that he had been *tried* for the offences referred to in the *litis aestimatio;* otherwise some of his numerous enemies would have prosecuted him under the same law as Cluentius.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## VARIOUS CONJECTURES. IV.

Hom. T 79.

> ἑσταότος μὲν καλὸν ἀκουέμεν· οὐδὲ ἔοικεν
> ὑββάλλειν· χαλεπὸν γὰρ...

The historic difficulty of the passage admits of a simple solution. Whereas previous interpretations appear to have assumed that *οὐδὲ ἔοικεν* means 'and it is not fair,' 'nor is it good,' I take *οὐ δὲ ἔοικεν* to be a direct antithesis to the preceding clause. Agamemnon is apologising for keeping his seat (on account of his wound) instead of standing up to speak (*v.* 77); he asks that even though he sits, his words may be received with no less attention than usual: 'It would have been better if I could have stood up; a speaker is best heard in that position: *but* I trust you will not interrupt me (although I keep my seat), for noise is embarrassing to the most practised orator.' How natural is the form of the sentence may be seen even from the few examples I have noted lately: Alciphr. iii. 37 *καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπείρατον εἶναι τῶν...ὅτῳ δὲ...* *A. P.* x. 68 *καλὸν μὲν στυγόδεσμον ἔχειν νόον· εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη*...Schol. Aesch. *Ag.* 1026 *καλὸν μὲν μὴ πειραθῆναι δουλείας· εἰ δὲ πειρῷτό τις*,...Antiphon 141. 15 *ἥδιστον μὲν...εἰ δ' ἄρα*....

[1] *οὐ δὲ ἔοικεν* = *οὐκ ἔοικεν* δέ, in direct opposition to *μέν*· cf. E 138, Ω 25, 433, *ν* 214, *φ* 152, 184; Simonid. *A. P.* vii. 251 *οὐ δὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες* = *θανόντες δ' οὐ τεθνᾶσιν.*

[1] I have often wished an enquiry might be made into the use of *μέν* and *δέ* after *οὐ* and *μή*, including Homer and Herodotus, and such combinations as *οὐ βουλόμενος δέ*, *οὐδὲν δ' ἧσσον*, *οὔπω μέν* in the Attic of the Orators. Perhaps some analysis may exist, but I do not know it.

Simonid. 159. Tryphon (Boisson. Anecd. III. p. 274) Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ὑπερβατὰ πεποιήκασιν, ὡς καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι· Ἑρμῆν τόνδε ἀνέθηκε Δημήτριος ὄρθια δ' οὐκ ἐν προθύροις. ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄρθια δέ. The attempts at restoration by Bergk and others (*P. L.* III. p. 502) neglect the 'hyperbaton even in syllables' which the line is quoted to exemplify. Tryphon's point was the division of the word ἀνέθη—κεν thus:

> Ἑρμῆν τόνδ' ἀνέθη Δημήτριος Ὀρθιάδου κεν
> ἐν προθύροις

and the words ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄρθια δέ are a stupid addition by a later hand. Ὀρθιάδου luckily occurs, CIG 2338. 48, Fick *Personenn.* p. 131.

We see now, therefore, what might have been suspected, that Ennius was not without Greek warrant for his *saxo cere comminuit brum;* but that is inexcusable clumsiness, if not mere pedantic imitation like his use of *do, cael, gau,* on the analogy of δῶ, κρῖ, ἦλ. With Simonides—though the ugliness is very painful in a poet of so fine a taste—it is yet an honest expedient for getting the full name naturally into the verse: it was his aim to preserve as nearly as possible the simplicity[1] of a prose inscription.

The intractability[2] of proper names gave license to unusual devices: sometimes, for instance, the metre was adapted to them, as by Parthenios (Hephaest. p. 9), Simonid. 155, 112, 148 (*A. P.* xiii. 19, 26, 28), Parmenon *A. P.* xiii. 18; sometimes they were distributed between two lines, as Ἀριστο—γείτων by Simonid. 131, Ἀπολλό—δωρος by Nicomachus (Hephaest. p. 26), *Au—runculeia* by Catull. 61. 83; or short syllables were lengthened, frequently in Tragedy as in Epic, so *A. P.* vii. 574 Ἀγαθονίκῳ, ix. 662 Ἀγαθῖα, 704 Ἀσκληπῖοδότου. Sophocles wrote Ἀρχέλεως for Ἀρχέλαος, with a naive explanation of his reason, Ἀρχέλεως—ἦν γὰρ σύμμετρον ὧδε λέγειν (*P. L.* II. p. 243). Cf. Archestratos (Ath. 284 e).

[1] Aeschylus was fortunate in being able to write Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει σῆμα....

[2] Martial ix. 11 and Ov. *ex Ponto* iv. 12 (to which Dr Jackson calls my attention) are an interesting commentary.

It is a distress to me to have convicted Simonides of so grave a lapse; but I shall not cease to think of him as the highest type in poetic art, as Pheidias in plastic, of Athenian purity of style.

## Hermesianax (Ath. 597 b).

The poem of Hermesianax—of which the argument is that even the most distinguished[1] literary and scientific men have not been proof against the influence of women—is thoroughly characteristic of its school, and its natural difficulty is increased by the state in which it comes to us. Kaibel might have recorded more conjectures; but does not appear to have known the very useful *variorum* edition of Bailey 1839, in which I find several notions of my own anticipated. Having called attention to this commentary, I am enabled to be briefer.

*v.* 3. *Orpheus sailed to the stern place* ἔνθα Χάρων ἀκοην ἕλκεται εἰς ἄκατον ψυχὰς οἰχομένων. Valckenaer conj. ἄκρην, but since no meaning can be found in this, many other epithets have been suggested, none accounting for the MS., and I have as vainly tried to find one. I believe now that the mysterious word was no adjective at all, but an adverb, figuring in the jargon of *Lexiphanes*, in whose person Lucian satirizes the vicious affectation of a recondite vocabulary. One of the phrases put into his mouth is (ii. 328) the unknown ἀράγδην: another (335) is Δεινίαν σύρουσιν ἄγδην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Most of the adverbs in -δην (Pollux vi. 175, Lobeck *Path.* i. 408) are very rare, and of those known many (as ἀΐγδην, καταΐγδην, προπροκαταΐγδην, ἁρπάγδην, ἀναμίγδην, συμμίγδην, ἐναλλάγδην, ἐπιδρομάδην, πλέγδην, ποιφύγδην, φύγδην) are found first or only in Alexandrian writers, whose affection for them is unmistakable.

The line then, as I believe, should be ἔνθα Χάρων ἄγδην ἕλκεται εἰς ἄκατον ψυχὰς οἰχομένων. The mythological idea is interesting to those who remember the part played now by Charon in the popular imagination; he is the god of death,

[1] Aeschylus is conspicuous by his absence.

*haling*[1] his victims by the hair. The classical tradition presents him but seldom in this character; it is filled by Θάνατος (Eur. *Alc.* 24) or Ἄιδης (*Alc.* 268, Soph. *Ant.* 809). We find Charon calling impatiently for his passengers to embark, Timotheos *fr.* 6 (Bergk III. p. 621), Eur. *Alc.* 261, (Leon. Tar. *A. P.* vii. 731 καλέει μ' εἰς Ἀΐδην θάνατος, Nicet. Eugen. iii. 214 καλεῖ γὰρ ὁ Πλούτων κάτω); but such phrases as the following hardly come to the surface until late: *A. P.* vii. 671 πάντα Χάρων ἅπληστε, τί τὸν νέον ἅρπασας αὔτως; 603. xvi. 385 ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῦτον ἥρπασεν Χάρων. Nicet. Eugen. ii. 172 Χάρων...ἀφαρπάσεις. *A. P.* xi. 133 νῦν ὑμῖν ὁ Χάρων ἐπελήλυθε. The only other earlier example that I know is instructive. In Lucian i. 344 *Pluto* orders *Hermes* to drag men down, κατάσπασον, 346 κατάσπα. When (631) the rich tyrant declines to get on board, *Clotho* says εἵλκετε αὐτόν...635 καὶ σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, σύρετ' αὐτὸν εἴσω τοῦ ποδός. But Antiphanes 86. 3 says τοὺς γλιχομένους δὲ ζῆν κατασπᾷ τοῦ σκέλους ἅπαντας ὁ Χάρων ἐπὶ τὸ πορθμεῖόν τ' ἄγει. That is *slang* language.

Some may care to trace through Virg. *A.* vi. 298 and Dante *Inferno* iii. 82 sqq. the same development of Charon's functions in the distempered fancies of Benvenuto Cellini i. 84.

*v.* 10. Hesiod came to Helicon, ἔνθεν ὅ γ' Ἡοίην μνώμενος Ἀσκραικὴν πόλλ' ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο βίβλους ...What is πάσας? It cannot mean ὅλας, 'whole books of Catalogues.' Perhaps it is a mistake for some other adjective (cf. *v.* 45), but I suggest πείσας δὲ 'when he had won her,' )( μνώμενος 'whilst he was wooing her.' πεῖσαι is special in this sense: Eur. *El.* 718, Aesch. *P. V.* 580, *Trag. fr. adesp.* 402, *A. P.* v. 127.

*v.* 61 of Euripides:

> φημὶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνον τὸν ἀεὶ πεφυλαγμένον ἄνδρα
> καὶ πάντων μῖσος κτώμενον ἐκ συνοχῶν
> πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας ὑπὸ σκολιοῖο τυπέντα
> τόξου νυκτερινὰς οὐκ ἀποθέσθ' ὀδύνας·

[1] See for example Garnett, *Greek Folk Songs*, pp. 113—119.

ἀλλὰ Μακηδονίης πάσας κατενίσατο λαύρας
αἰγείων μέθεπεν δ' Ἀρχέλεω ταμίην.
εἰσόκε <τοι> δαίμων, Εὐριπίδη, εὗρετ' ὄλεθρον
ἀμφὶ βίου στυγνῶν ἀντιάσαντι κυνῶν.

The *νυκτεριναὶ ὀδύναι* have generally been supposed to mean the tortures of love: but since they are given, apparently, as the cause of his removal to Macedonia, I incline to think they mean rather the troubles of his unsuccessful marriage; for Thom. Mag. attributes his migration to this cause: *τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μὴ φέρων αἰσχύνην σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδοποιῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρε*: cf. Suid. *s. v.* *Εὐριπίδης*, Philodem. quoted by Nauck *Trag. Fr.* p. 427. But in neither case can Euripides, the notorious misogynist, be said to have suffered *about every woman in the world, πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας*. That phrase must belong to the description beginning *τὸν ἀεὶ...*; and it is now evident that *καὶ...γυναῖκας* is one clause. *ἐκ*, therefore, gives the reason for the unpopularity he acquired (as *e.g.* Menand. 625 *ἐκ φειδωλίας κατέθετο μῖσος*); some attitude towards the whole sex. What that must be we know—either *hatred* or *abuse;* and this brings me to my reading, *καὶ πάντων μῖσος κτώμενον*[1] *ἐξ ὑλακῶν πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας*. I was interested to find that Casaubon had attempted to get the same sense with *ἐκ δακέων*, '*omnium odium sibi conflavit ex maledictis in omnes mulieres.*' After the manner of his school, Hermesianax writes in a compressed allusive style, assuming literary knowledge in his audience. His meaning, as I understand it, may be expressed by an expansive paraphrase: '*even Euripides the recluse* or *the shunner of women, whose railings against the whole sex were so constant*[2] *as to make him universally disliked—even he married, and, having married unhappily, could not put away the fret for his misadventure, but wandered through Macedonia....*'

*αἰγείων* I agree with Kaibel in thinking a corruption of some participle—*ἀργεύων* more probably than my first notion, *αἰτίζων* or *αἰτεύων*. Ἀμφιβίου is an unknown name: it should

[1] Similarly *ἐκ σοῦ* Aesch. *Cho.* 990 is an error for *ἐξ οὗ*.
[2] Cf. *Hippol.* 660.

be Ἀρριδαίου or Ἀρριβαίου, according to Suidas *s. v.* Εὐριπίδης: both are well-known Macedonian names, and I should suppose Herm. used one or other in some form, Ἀρριδίου or Ἀρριβίου.

## Athenaeus (ed. Kaibel).

97 f προσέπταισε λίθῳ καὶ τὴν κνήμην ἔλυσε: 'bruised' is the meaning—ἔκλασε (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1179) or ἐλύγισε?

98 e So many of these affected words are placed by Lucian in the mouth of his *Lexiphanes* that it is possible he may afford a little help towards τοὺς ἡλιοκρεῖς οἰῶν...*Lexiph.* 2 having χρίεσθαι τὸ ἡλιοκαές and 6 οἶν δὲ ὅλον ἰπνοκαῆ, the word may perhaps be ἡλιοκαεῖς or ἰπνοκαεῖς.

104 b for Θεογονίαν cf. 338 a, Amphis *fr.* 9.

176 c Hedylus *v.* 7 ηὔλει δ' ἥ for δὴ.

209 a for ἐρεων Wilam. reads ἐρίων. I see no objection in form to ἐρεῶν from ἐρεᾶ, as λινᾶ, ἁλουργῆ: but the thing meant may have been something else, as κρεῶν.

348 e Macho *v.* 5 γυμναζομένους τῶν μειρακίων παρὰ τὸ πῦρ. Porson conj. παρὰ τῷ πυρί: but πὰρ πυρί is Epic, Hom. η 154, Xenophan. (Ath. 54 e), Callim. *fr.* 494, Theocr. vii. 66; read here τῶν μειρακίσκων (Meineke) πρὸς τὸ πῦρ according to the Attic use, as πρὸς τὸ φῶς, τὴν εἵλην, τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ σελήνιον: see for example Blaydes Ar. *Ach.* 751, *Vesp.* 772.

351 b μόνῳ δὴ (Meineke) οὐκ ἔφη προσήκειν περὶ μουσικῆς λαλεῖν (for μόνῳ δὲ) solves all the difficulty.

453 f read καὶ τρίτον μόνον γ' ἐρεῖς
ἦτ' ἆρα φήσω τί τὸ τέταρτον αὖ; μόνον
ἰῶτα, πέμπτον οὖ,...

for ἦτ' ἄρα φήσω τὸ τέταρτόν τ' αὖ μόνον.

508 c οὐδ' ὡς [διὰ ταῦτα] θαυμαστέος.

530 e Phoenix Coloph., of Ninos

*v.* 4 ὃς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδιζων ἐδίζητο.

It occurred to me that this might stand for ὃς οὐκ ἴδ' ἄστε' οὐδὲ νῶν ἐδίζητο, in allusion to the famous line in the *Odyssey*

*α* 3 *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδε ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω* (applied by Heliod. ii. 22).

This would be appropriate enough; but so undoubtedly would be *ὃς οὐκ ἴδε ζῶν ἀστέρ', οὐδ' ἐδίζητο* 'never in his life beheld a heavenly body nor desired to': cf. Eunap. *fr.* 37 (Suid. *s.v.* Τιμάσιος), Ath. 273 c d, 520 a, 526 b, 528 f, Plut. *Pericl.* 27. —*ἀστέρος μύδρος* of the sun, Critias 1. 35 Nauck p. 772.

*οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἐδίζητο* I do not think probable; it is hardly good Greek to repeat the verb: the way they write is Straton. Com. 1. 33 *οὐ μανθάνω...τούτων οὐδέν, οὐδὲ βούλομαι*, Ar. *Plut.* 551 *οὐχ οὑμὸς τοῦτο πέπονθεν βίος..., οὐδέ γε μέλλει.* Menand. 99 *ἦν δ' οὐ πονηρός, οὐδ' ἐδόκουν.* [1]Thuc. i. 70. 8 *μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν.* Andoc. i. 135 *οὔτε αὐτὸς λήψεται...οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐάσει.* Lucian i. 124 *μήτε αὐτὴν ἐσθίουσαν μήτε τῷ...ἐπιτρέπουσαν.*

*v.* 18 *ἔχω δ' ὁκόσον ἔπαισα χὠκόσ' ἤεισα*
*<χὠκόσ' ἔδωκα γαστρὶ> χὠκόσ' ἠράσθην.*

*ἔπαισα* Kaibel for *ἔδαισα* rightly: Amphis 8 *πῖνε, παῖζε· θνητὸς ὁ βίος. Anth. Append.* ii. 405. 5 *παῖξον, τρύφησον, ζῆσον.* My supplement is a synonym for *χὠκόσ' ἔφαγον ἔπιόν τε* (suggested by Kaibel), which is the sense required (*A. P.* vii. 325, Ath. 336 a). For the phrase cf. Theognis 915 *κοὔποτε γαστρὶ σῖτον...ἐδίδου*, Cratin. 317 *ἔσθιε καὶ σῇ γαστρὶ δίδου χάριν = γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι* (*e.g.* Theognis 920, Timon in Ath. 279 f), as *ὀργῇ χάριν δούς* Soph. *O. C.* 855 = *θυμῷ χαριζόμενος El.* 331, *γλώσσῃ χαρίζεσθαι* Eur. *Or.* 1522, *γλώσσης χάριν* Hes. *Op.* 707, Aesch. *Cho.* 265. *δοῦναι* is commonly so used with *ψυχῇ, genio indulgere, bona facere*, Jahn *Persius* p. 205 (Eur. *Cycl.* 338 *τὴν δ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ οὐ παύσομαι δρῶν εὖ*, Diocles Com. 14 *ἀγαθόν τι τῇ ψυχῇ παθών.* Alexis 25. 5 *χαίρωμεν ἕως ἔνεστι τὴν ψυχὴν τρέφειν*...11 *ἔξεις δ' ὅσ' ἂν φάγῃς τε καὶ πίῃς μόνα· σποδὸς δὲ τἄλλα,...*), Hor. *C.* iv. 7. 19 *cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico quae dederis animo* (*τῇ φίλῃ ψυχῇ*). Simonid. 85. 14 *ψυχῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν...χαριζόμενος, Anth.*

[1] In Pseudo-Phocyl. 21 the suggestion which Bergk did not adopt is the right one, *μήτ' ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοις <αὐτός>, μήτ' <ἄλλον> ἐάσῃς·* for *μήτ'* (or *μήτ' οὖν*) *ἀδικοῦντα ἐάσῃς.*

*Append.* iii. 100 (Ath. 336 d) *πιέν, φαγέν, καὶ πάντα τᾷ ψυχᾷ δόμεν.* Theocr. xvi. 24 Fritzsche *τὸ μὲν ψυχᾷ τὸ δὲ καί τινι δοῦναι ἀοιδῶν. Anth. Append.* ii. 625. 5 *μετέδωκ' ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα τῇ ψυχῇ καλά.* Eur. *Supp.* 886 *σκληρὰ τῇ φύσει διδούς.* Hor. *C.* iii. 12. 1 Orelli.

I hope now that in the true Oriental sentiment Aesch. *Pers.* 842 the MS. will no longer be suspected, *χαίρετ' ἐν κακοῖς ὅμως ψυχῇ διδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ' ἡμέραν κτέ.* (Plaut. *Casin.* 784 *facite vostro animo volup*), where Pauw's *ψυχὴν... ἡδονῇ* is commonly adopted—even by Weil, though a Frenchman has the same expression as the text, *s'en donner à cœur joie.*

577 e Macho *ἧς σφόδρ' ἡδέως*
*σχεῖν φασι κνισθῆναί τε τὸν Δημήτριον*

(for *κνησθῆναι*), as Theocr. iv. 59, Lucian iii. 308, is a simple correction I am not the first to make. *ἡδέως ἔχειν τινός* Macho Ath. 581 c, Alexis 216 *ἐμαυτοῦ*, Hippocr. iii. 481 *οὐδὲ γὰρ πότων μετὰ τροφῆς ἡδέως εἶχον.* Possibly in Iambl. *V. P.* 254 *Πυθαγόρου ἡδέως εἶχον*, where Cobet *Coll. Crit.* 403 would read *<πρὸς> Πυθαγόραν.*

578 c Macho *v.* 12

*πάνυ δ' εὐπρόσωπος οὖσα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ*
*πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους*
14 *εἶχ', οἷς ὅπου περὶ <τῆς> γυναικός τις λόγος*
*γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν*
*ἔφασκον εἶναι*

*v.* 14 for *ἔχουσ' ὅπου...*

580 e Macho *v.* 64 *καὶ λαγαρόν* or *λαπαρόν* for *λιπαρόν.*

580 f Macho *v.* 74—5 is misunderstood by Kaibel: *τὰς ὗς = τοὺς χοίρους = τὰ αἰδοῖα.* Cf. also Herodas viii. 7.

582 a Macho *v.* 51 *καὶ φίλησον, εἰ θέλεις* is wrongly altered by the editors after Musurus to *εἰ θέλει*, as will be seen from Herodas viii. 6, 14, Soph. *El.* 585.

639 d Speaking of festivals on which masters take the place of their slaves, entertaining them etc., Ath. says *Κῷοι δὲ τοὐναντίον δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ Κῳακῶν·*

ὅταν γὰρ τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν, δοῦλοι οὐ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν (similarly 262 c). διὸ καὶ Φύλαρχον εἰρηκέναι·

σουριηι μοῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοί,
ἀνδρασι προσκεινοισιν ἔλευρον ἆμαρ ἔχοντες·
δούλων δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.

One word at any rate I can restore, *ἀνδράσι προυνεί-κοισιν*: it is interesting to find in a Coan matter a word used by Herodas iii. 12, 65. The exact point of the line, however, still remains obscure. Musurus plausibly enough conj. *ἐλεύθερον ἆμαρ*. I suspect *ἔχοντες* should be *ἄγοντες* (a frequent error), '*bringing* to them' as Soph. *Ant.* 1330 *τερμίαν ἄγων ἀμέραν*. Otherwise the dative may be governed by an adjective that *ἔλευρον* represents, as *ἐνήριθμον*, or *συνήριθμον* (Apollonid. *A. P.* vii. 389. 3 *τέσσαρας οὓς Ἀΐδαο συνήριθμον ἥρπασεν ἦμαρ*), 'keeping a day in common with.' Conjectures for *σουριηι* may be found in FHG iv. p. 442 Müller.—The author cannot be Φύλαρχος. Meineke conj. Φιλητᾶν: perhaps *Φάλαικον*.

## Anthologia.

### V.

30. 3. ἢν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χάραγμα φέρῃς, φίλος, οὔτε θυρωρὸς
ἐν ποσίν, ἥ τε κύων ἐν προθύροις δέδεται.
ἢν δ' ἑτέρως ἔλθῃς, καὶ ὁ Κέρβερος.

This I suggest for *οὔτε κύων*. The dog would be there as a matter of course—they were kept by *meretrices* as well as by other people (Burm. Ovid i. p. 461); the point one would expect to be that in this case he is tied up. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1215 *εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα*. Theocr. xv. 43 *τὰν κύν' ἔσω κάλεσον*. Apollodor. Com. 14 (iii. p. 293 Kock) 'when you enter a friend's house, *ὁ θυρωρὸς ἱλαρὸς πρῶτόν ἐστιν, ἡ κύων ἔσηνε καὶ προσῆλθε*.' Alciphr. iii. 47 'With the dawn it seemed to be safe, for by this time the watch-dogs, who had set upon me, were sure to have been tied up, *οἴκοι πάντως*

ἐδέδεντο,' dogs being chained by day, and loosed at night (Xen. *Anab.* v. 8. 24). A joke in Plut. *Mor.* 633 A 'Come in.' 'If you will first tie up the —harp,' *ἂν πρῶτον τὴν κιθάραν δήσῃς.*

49. *πρὸς ἓν τέλος* (Plut. *Lycurg. et Num.* 4) is an emendation already suggested by Jacobs for *τάχος*. In xi. 328 on the same theme we have *εἰς κοινὴν κύπριν.*

## VI.

352 Erinna (Bergk *PL* III. p. 143).

*Δέξατάλαν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα· λῶστε Προμαθεῦ,*
*ἔντι καὶ ἄνθρωποι τὶν ὁμαλοὶ σοφίαν·*
*ταύταν γῶν ἐτύμως τὰν παρθένον ὅστις ἔγραψεν,*
*αἰ καὐδὰν ποτέθηκ', ἧς κ' Ἀγαθαρχὶς ὅλα.*

*v. l.* *ἐξαταλαν* (*sic*). *Δέξο* is not in place, for the epigram, though written for a picture, is not the dedicatory inscription but another, laudatory of the artist's skill. The work, as the schol. given by Dübner remarks, is compared to that of Prometheus, who moulded living men out of clay; as Antip. Sid. *A. P.* ix. 724, writing of Myron's cow, exclaims *ἦ ῥ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς οὐχὶ μόνος, πλάττεις <δ'> ἔμπνοα καὶ σύ, Μύρων.* It is clear therefore that *χειρῶν* means the skilled hands of the artist, *handiwork* or *workmanship* being frequent poetical senses of *χείρ* and *χεῖρες*. We require an epithet. It cannot be *ἀταλᾶν*. But *ἁπαλᾶν* (Hecker *Comm. de Anth.* p. 353) is not more possible. *ἁπαλαὶ χεῖρες* is never said but in a purely physical sense, Hom. *ϕ* 151, Dion. Chrys. I. p. 281, by Sappho 78, Timocles 22, Alexis 48, *A. P.* v. 129. 4, Eust. 551. 6, of the delicate hands of women. The epithets I find are *miras manus* Propert. iii. 3. 2, *δαιδαλέη χεῖρ A. P.* ix. 826, xvi. 119 *v. l.*, *ὁ δαιδαλόχειρ* vi. 204, *γλαφυρᾶς χερός* Theocr. *Ep.* 7. 5 'nice touch,' *ἀμώμητοι A. P.* xvi. 265, *ἄκραι* 182 'consummate,' *ἄκρα σοφαί* 262, *σοφαὶ παλάμαι* Nicochares *fr.* 2, *σοφῆς χερὸς ἔργα Anth. Append.* ii. 402. 3, Eur. *Alc.* 359, *σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός* Eur. *fr.* 125, *εἰμὶ Μέθη τὸ γλύμμα σοφῆς χερός A. P.* ix. 752

(as in xvi. 283 a dancer has *σοφὰ χειρῶν δάκτυλα*, and pantomimes are *χειρόσοφοι*), *σεῖο Βοηθὸς χειρὸς ἄγαλμ' ἀγαθῆς τεῦξεν ἑαῖς πραπίσιν* (where *ἄγαλμα σοφῆς* might be looked for) *Anth. Append.* i. 247 b. It will be seen that we do not want *ἐξ*. Conjectures dispensing with it are *εὐπαλάμων*, *δαιδαλεᾶν*: but the MSS. and the perplexity of the scribes will be accounted for by *δοξαπατᾶν* or *δερξαπατᾶν*—either might be supported by *A. P.* xvi. 148 *σοφός τις ἀνὴρ κάμε· δεινὸς ἀληθῶς τεύξατο καὶ βλεφάρων καὶ πραπίδων ἀπάτην.* Apoll. Rhod. i. 765 *κείνους γ' εἰσορόων ἀκέοις ψεύδοιό τε θυμόν,... A. P.* ix. 505 *ψεύδεται ὀφθαλμούς*, 734, 739, 604. Similar compounds that exist are *φρεναπάτης* (which should be restored with Burges to Aesch. *Supp.* 863), *ψυχαπάτης*, *ὑπναπάτης*, *ξεναπάτης*, *ὁρκαπάτης*: *φιλεξαπάτης* may be added to the Lexicons from Asclepiad. *A. P.* v. 164.

## VII.

In the lemma read *οὐκ ἄχρηστον οὐδ' ἀνωφελῆ, ἀλλ' ἦσαί τε καὶ...* for *λαλῆσαί τε καὶ...* This aorist occurs Anacreon 148 (Pollux iii. 98 *q. v.*), Heliod. x. 32, paraphrase of Opp. *Ἰξευτ.* i. 27. The Lexicons give only Ephipp. 6. 5, Ael. *N. A.* x. 48.

18. 3. *εἰδήσεις Ἀλκμᾶνα, λύρης ἐλατῆρα Λακαίνης,*
*ἔξοχον ὧν Μουσέων ἐννέ' ἀριθμὸς ἔχει*

(for *ὃν*) 'eminent among those included in the Muses' number,' *i.e.* among the 9 Lyric poets (*A. P.* ix. 184, 571, *Append.* iii. 73): *et lyrici vates numero sunt Mnemosynarum* Auson. *Idyll.* xi. 30, the text of which is hereby confirmed. Nine women-poets also were canonised according to the number of the Muses (*A. P.* ix. 26. 9); and the names of the Muses were given to the nine books of Herodotus (*A. P.* ix. 160, cf. vii. 17. 5 of Sappho).

358. *Ἔκτανες, εἶτά με θάπτεις, ἀτάσθαλε, χερσὶν ἐκείναις*
*αἷς με διεχρήσω· μή σε λάθοι Νέμεσις.*

*v. l. θάπτῃ.* Whatever may be read, in the first line, the last phrase ('*ne te lateat Nemesis*'! Lapaume) is incorrect. The

invariable phrase is λαθεῖν θεούς 'to elude the vengeance of heaven.' From a long list I select Gorgias *fr.* 5 λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θείαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. *A. P.* vii. 630 οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ λήθει...Νέμεσιν. Suid. *s. v.* Νέμεσις. Plut. *Mor.* 564 E. Eur. *Med.* 334 Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε...Herodas i. 35—λάθοιμ' αὐτὰς <γρύξασα>. vi. 134 λάθοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεια. It is clear that the dead man turns to Nemesis, appealing μή σε λάθοι, Νέμεσι.

397. 5. κείνῳ δινήεντι καὶ ἀτρυγέτῳ ἐνὶ κεῖμαι πόντῳ (for ἔτι), an Epic phrase.

422. Leon. Tar. 'What means the Χῖος ἀστράγαλος carved upon your tomb?' ἦ ῥά γε μὴν ὅτι Χῖος; ἔοικε γάρ· ἦ ῥ' ὅτι παίκτας ἦσθά τις...; ἦ ῥά γε I know—it is used by Meleager in the model of this epigram, vii. 428. 5, and v. 166, 191, xii. 84, 144; by others v. 267, 280, x. 64, xii. 67, and commonly in verse and prose alike—but there is no such combination as ἦ ῥά γε μήν, which must be an error for ἦ ῥὰ γενὴν ὅτι Χῖος; 'that you are of Chian *race*?' The form (=γενεήν) is found in Callim. (of whom Leon. Tar. is a disciple) *fr.* 241, Herodas ii. 1, 32, iv. 84, Phoenix Coloph. 7 (Ath. 335 d, *A. P.* vii. 345) where there is a mistaken *v. l.* γονήν.

433. 4. ὀδόντα ὀξὺν ἐπιβρύκουσ' οἷα Λάκαινα γυνά,... and 531. 6. δερκομένα λοξαῖς οἷα Λάκαινα κόραις. Teles (Stob. *Flor.* 108. 83) οὐχ ὡς ἂν Ἀττικὴ γυνὴ ἀκούσασα σεσωσμένον ἔγραψεν ἂν 'εὖ τέκνον, ὅτι σαυτόν μοι ἔσωσας,' ἀλλὰ... Therefore λύκαινα (Salmas.) is mistaken: as for λέαινα (Küster and Ruhnken), it was notorious that lions never look, like other cats, *limis oculis*: Plin. *N. H.* viii. 16. 19. 52, Solin. 27. 20.

## IX.

26. 9. ἐννέα δ' αὖ τὰς for αὐτὰς?

322. 3. ἄθλαστοι μὲν κῶνοι, ἀναίμακτον δὲ γανῶσαι ἀσπίδες,... for ἀναίμακτοι.

330. 7. Β. ὦ σέμν' Π. οὐ λέξεις ἕτερον λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρέξεις...

339. Zenob. iv. 60.

423. Bianor

*v.* 7. Βούρᾳ κἶσ' Ἑλίκῃ κεκλυσμέναι· αἱ δ' ἐνὶ χέρσῳ
Σάρδιες ἐμβυθίαις ἶσον ἵκεσθε τέλος.

for εἰς ἓν ἔκεισθε. εἰς ἕν cannot, like εἰς ταὐτό, govern a dative. You could say ἐμβύθιαί τ' εἰς ἓν... (as Simonid. 38 πάντα γὰρ μίαν ἱκνεῖται... Χάρυβδιν κτέ.), otherwise ἐμβυθίαις ἶσον, as *e. g.* Menand. 394. 2 εἰς τὸν ἴσον ὄγκον τῷ σφόδρ' ἔρχετ' εὐτελεῖ. For Bura and Helice, see Ov. *Met.* xv. 293 Burm.

490. I hardly believe that Heliodor. (*Aeth.* viii. 11) wrote ῥηϊδίως Μοίραις καὶ τἀδόκητα πέλει. Perhaps κἂν ἀδόκητα (rather than κάρτ') or καὶ τὰ ἄελπτα. Cf. x. 122. Other verses by Heliod. may be seen *Aeth.* viii. 11, ii. 35, iii. 2 (*A. P.* ix. 485).

496. 5. σαρκὸς δ' ἀδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,
ἃ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνεσε θυγατέρων

for ἤνυσε: 'is commended, approved, by only one of the Muses,' *i. e.* Erato.

709. On a bronze representing the Eurotas: *v.* 5 ἆ τίς ὁ πείσας χαλκὸν κωμάζειν ὕδατος ὑγρότερον; there is no place here for κωμάζειν, but it is so frequent in the Anthology that a scribe was misled into writing it for κυμαίνειν.

710. πυραμίδες ἔτι νῦν Νειλωΐδες ἄκρα μέτωπα
κύρουσιν... ἀστράσι.

ἀκρομέτωποι I think; or ἄκρα μετώποις as ἄκρα δ' ὄνυξιν κνίζει Meleag. v. 178 (= ἀκρονυχεὶ ἔκνισε xii. 126), Crinag. *A. P.* ix. 291 δρύες ἔμπεδα ῥίζαις ἑστᾶσιν, a form of expression common in poetry.

## X.

8. It should be observed that the purpose of the description *vv.* 1—4 is to mark the mean and insignificant appearance of the shore-god in contrast with his power for aid; the conclusion is 'divinities are to be judged not by their form but by their deeds.' To my note 46 p. 292, where I suggested ἀμφιβ.

for *ἀντιβ.*, add that Oppian 'Ιξευτ. ii. (*περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβίων ὀρνίθων*) described the characteristics of *αἴθυιαι*, which survive in the paraphrase § 5 p. 186 Schneider.

56. 'What criterion is there of a woman's chastity? one test after another fails': *v.* 15 *ἡλικίᾳ τοίνυν ἠδε κρίνετ'. ἀλλὰ....* Read *ἡλικία τοίνυν ἤδη* (Boissonade) *κρινεῖ*?

*v.* 17. *ὅρκοις λοιπὸν αἰεί τε πεποίθαμεν· ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὅρκον ζητεῖν ἔστι θεοὺς δώδεκα καινερέου.*

*αἰεί* is constantly written for *ἀεί*, which is read here by all after Saumaise. But Jacobs' *τι* for *τε* is justly felt by Boissonade to be unsatisfactory. Read *ὅρκοις λοιπὸν δεῖ σε πεποιθέμεν.* For *καινερέου* I suggest *κλιναρίου.* Liban. II. 97. 17 *τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν δέοιντ' ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν.* Plaut. *Epid.* 610, Alexis 201. 7. For *ζητεῖν ἔστι* cf. xii. 65. 3.

## XI.

108. 2. *ἐν τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ*—an order of words frequent in Comedy.

162. *εἰς Ῥόδον εἰ πλεύσῃ τις...ἦλθεν ἐρωτῶν...καὶ πῶς πλεύσεται ἀσφαλέως* for *πλεύσει* or *πλεύσοι.* See Cobet *V. L.* 363, who is mistaken however in altering *εἰ αἱρέει* Hdt. v. 43 to *εἰ αἱρέῃ.* The enquiry there was *αἱρέω*; the common prospective use of the pres. indic.: here it was *πλεύσω*; 'am I to sail?' the deliberative subjunctive.

234. *τοὺς πόδας εἰ Κρατερὸς καὶ τὰς χέρας εἶχ' ὁλοκλήρους, οὐ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶχε, τοιαῦτα γράφων.*

*οὐκ ἂν* MS.

388. The sense requires *δόκει* for *δοκεῖ* in *vv.* 1 and 3.

## XII.

16. *μὴ κρύπτειν τὸν ἔρωτα* for *κρύπτῃς*? Jacobs *κρύψῃς.*

48. 2. Punctuate *οἶδά σε, ναὶ μὰ θεούς, καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα, φέρειν· οἶδα καὶ ἔμπυρα τόξα (φέρειν)·*

120. 3. *ἄχρι δὲ νήφω, τὸν παραταξόμενον πρός σε λογισμὸν ἔχω* for *παραταξάμενον.*

130. 5. *εἰ δέ τις οὐ φήσει, μὴ πείθεο· ναὶ μὰ σέ, δαῖμον,*
*ψεύδετ', ἐγὼ δὲ λέγων ἀτρεκὲς οἶδα μόνος.*

Read λέγειν. Hes. *Theog.* 27, Xenophon 7. 4 εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως. Epicrates *fr.* 11. 8 ἀλλ' οἶδα λέγειν περὶ τῶνδε σαφῶς. Phrynich. 20. 1 πιθήκους οἶδ' ἑτέρους τινὰς λέγειν. Archestrat. (Ath. 29 c) *v.* 17.

157. *χειμαίνει δ' ὁ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος.* I suspect the article should be absent, as in 167. 3.

166. *ἐνεσκληκὼς γὰρ ἀνίαις*
*ἐξ ὑμέων τούτων ἕν γέ τι βούλομ' ἔχειν.*

for *εἰτετι*, though *θάτερον* is usual of two alternatives, *ἕν γέ τι* of more than two: Plat. *Phaed.* 85 c, *Sophist.* 252 d, *Theaet.* 206 c, Polyzel. 3. 1 (i. p. 790 Kock), Alexis 211, Aristid. i. 312, ii. 172, Ar. *Plut.* 402, Blaydes.

168. 7. *τἄλλα δ' Ἔρωτες*
*νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι;*

Perhaps *τἄλλα δ'* (or *τἀμὰ δ'*) *ἐρωτᾶν...* or *ἐρωτᾷς*; (xvi. 236. 3). Cf. 119, Hor. *C.* i. 27. 10—18 Orelli.

206. Lucian ii. 578.

255. *Οὐδ' αὐτή σ' ἡ λέξις, ἀκοινονόητε, διδάσκει...*; for *ἀκοινώνητε*? See *Thesaur. s. v.*

## XIV.

102. *ἥ μιν ἔτικτε βροτῶν πολυπάνσοφον ἄλλον* should be either *βροτῶν περὶ (πέρι) πάνσοφον ἄλλων* or *πανυπείροχον ἄλλων* (*ἄλλων* Jacobs).

## XVI.

126. *ὁ παιδόταυρος* for *ὁ παῖς ὁ ταῦρος.*

136. *'ἀρκεῖ δ' ἁ μέλλησις' ἔφα σοφός.* 'The intention is sufficient,' the purpose without the execution. Auson. *Ep.* 129 wrongly renders it *cunctantem satis est.*

240. In this dialogue I suspect that *v.* 3 should be divided B. *ὀργίλος ὡς ὁ Πρίηπος.* Π. *ἐρεῖς...* Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 480 *ὡς θρασὺς ὁ βάκχος.* Ar. *Ran.* 178 *ὡς σεμνὸς ὁ κατάρατος.*

*Plut.* 275 *ὡς σεμνὸς οὐπίτριπτος.* Euangel. (III. 376 Kock) l. 7 *ὡς ἀλάζων ὁ κατάρατος.*

265. *εἰς τὸν* Μῶμον (doricized):

*τίς τὸν ἐπ' ἐσθλοῖσιν παμπενθέα... ἀνεπλάσατο;...*
*μανύει... ὄγμος ὀδόντων*
*πριομένων ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πέλας εὐτυχίας.*

*πριομένων* is not *θηγομένων* 'whetted to attack,' but 'grinding' in chagrin at, as ix. 77 *πριομένα κάλλει Γανυμήδεος.* Read, according to the definition of *φθόνος* accepted throughout Greek, *ἐπὶ τᾷ τῶν πέλας εὐτυχίᾳ* (rather than *ταῖς -ίαις*). It is enough to refer to Xen. *Mem.* iii. 9. 8, Diog. L. vii. 1. 111, Plat. *Defin.* p. 416, Theophrast. Stob. *Flor.* 38. 30 and 43, Oecum. *Ep. ad Rom.* i. p. 255, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 288, Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 8, Suid. (Hesych.) Φθόνος: *πάθος λύπης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πέλας εὐπραγίᾳ*, and Νεμεσητικός (from Alex. Aphrod. Ar. *Top.* ii. p. 76): whence emend also Basil. II. p. 91 d Garnier *λύπη γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλησίον εὐπραγίᾳ ὁ φθόνος* for *λύπη γάρ ἐστι τῆς...-ίας.*

## *Appendix* (Cougny).

I. 61 *ἀπτὴς μουνοπαλᾶν τέσσαρα σώματ' ἐλών* 'involucris (*i.e. parvulus*),' 'dorice pro *ἀπτήν*' C. It must = *ἀπτώς*—unless indeed that should be read—as *A. P.* ix. 588. 5 *τὸ τρίτον οὐκ ἐκόνισεν ἐπωμίδας, ἀλλὰ παλαίσας ἀπτὼς τοὺς τρισσοὺς Ἰσθμόθεν εἶλε πόνους.*

II. 19 *ψυχῆς δ' ἀντίρροπ<ον ὦνον>*
*ἠλλάξαντ' ἀρετήν?*

173 *c* *Addenda* p. 590.

3. *ἄμφω γηραλέω <τ' ἰ>δὲ τέκνων τέκ<ν'> ἐσιδόντας>*
*ὀλβίστους θάνατος π<ρηύτατ>ος κατέχει.*

*τ' ἰδὲ* Häberlin. For my *πρηύτατος* (46 p. 294), add *A. P.* vii. 733 *παλαιαὶ...Ἀΐδην πρηὺν ἀφικόμεθα*, Ael. *N. A.* ix. 11 *τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δήγματος τῆς ἀσπίδος (θάνατον) πρᾷον εἶναι καὶ... ἀβληχρόν, fr.* (Suid. Ἀβληχρός) *κατέστρεψεν οὖν τὸν βίον*

πράως...καὶ ἀβληχρῷ θανάτῳ...Homer's ἀβληχρὸς θάνατος (λ 134, ψ 281) is expressly that which comes at the end of a long life.

198 *b* p. 591.

*v.* 13. τῶ ῥ' ἄμοτον κλαίοντες for τώρα μοτὸν (*sic*).

257 *b* p. 593. εἰ τὸ καλῶς ἐστὶ θανεῖν, κἀμοὶ τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη is an imperfect *cliché* from Simonides *A. P.* vii. 253. Perhaps the couplet was intended to be inscribed in its complete form.

294 (on a pet nightingale): Kaibel and Cougny give the readings and supplements of Spuchesi:

Ὤλετ<ο που>τοπόροις θυμὸ<ν τέρ>ψασα δ' ἀηδὼν
ἀθαν<άτο>ις κόλπῳ Κύπρι<δος ᾰ>σομένη.

I should be glad to see the stone; but of the general purport I can feel no doubt:

ᾤχετο λεπτοτέροις ὕμνοις τέρψασά μ' ἀηδὼν
ἀθανάτους, κόλπῳ Κύπριδος ᾰσομένη,

'has gone to heaven,' for which ἐς θεοὺς is the usual phrase. Compare, for example, *A. P.* ix. 432. 3, vii. 203. 4, 189, 199, 211, Catull. 3, Ov. *Am.* ii. 6. 49—62, *Anth. Lat.* Burm. iv. 400, 404, 406, part of which last epitaph on a nightingale is especially to my purpose: *lusciniae Philumenae...cantatrici suavissimae omnibus gratiis ad digitum pipillanti...heu misera avicula, hinc inde volitabas tota garrula, tota festiva. latitas modo inter pulla*[1] *Leptynis loculamenta...have, avis iucundissima, quae mihi volans obvia, blando personans rostello, toties cecinisti. cave, avis, Averna; vale, et vola per Elysium.*—For λεπτοτέροις (a word appropriate to birds' piping, Ar. *Av.* 235, schol. Theocr. xiii. 12) cf. Eur. *fr.* 773. 23 μέλπει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπτὰν ἀηδὼν ἁρμονίαν.

326. δάκρυ χέων.

350. 5. Π<αύεο> δ' ἀλλὰ πάτερ θρήνων φίλε, παύεο μῆτερ.

351. 1. Τιμόθεος, τὸ Πάτρας ὅσιον φῶς, for ὁ...ὅσιος.

[1] *i.e. Proserpinae:* Lycophr. 49 schol. The phrase looks like a quotation: cf. *Orcino thesauro.*

372 *c* (p. 595) *v.* 3 *ὅσον ζῇς <εὐ>φ<ρ>αίνου· μηδὲν ὅλως σὺ λυποῦ· πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν*...as Eur. *Alc.* 800, *A. P.* xi. 56. 1 *Πίνε καὶ εὐφραίνου*,...62. 3.

401. 13. *ἀ<κού>οι.*

447 *b* p. 595 I emended 46 p. 294: *A. P.* vii. 389 is on a similar theme. *v.* 3 Quint. ix. 446 *ὡς ἴδον οὓς ποθέεσκον.*

664. 3.

*μήτηρ δ' ἣ βαρὺ πένθος ἔχω τέκνου ταχυμοίρου*
*εἰ χαὐτὴν ζῶσαν συγκατέθηκα τάφῳ,*

or *εἴθ' αὐτὴν*, for *μήτηρ δὲ βαρυπενθὰς ἐπὶ*...*ἐμαυτὴν ζῶσα*...

III. 74. 26 on Pindar:

*ἔμελψε δὲ κῦδος ἀγώνων*
*τῶν πισύρων, μακάρων παιήονας ἐνδεδεγμένους,*
*καὶ μέλος ὀρχηθμοῖσι, θεῶν τ' ἐρικυδέας ὕμνους,*
*ἠδὲ μελιφθόγγων μελεδήματα παρθενικάων.*

'*hymnos acceptos*' (!) Cougny. Heyne suggested *ἀνδράσι θρήνους*. Read *ἠδ'* (hardly *ἐν δ'*) *ὑμεναίους*, a class to which it would be natural for Pindar to contribute, though it seems that we have no other record of the fact.

IV. 32. 47. *λύκος*...*λιμῷ τεθοωμένος ἀλκάν*, not *τεθυωμένος*.

V. 21. 3 (Ath. 499 d). *πλὴν ὅ γε πέμψας*
*αἰνεῖσθαι πάντων ἄξιος Ἱπποκράτης.*

Either *πάντως*, I think, or *αἰνείσθω*.

## Callimachus.

*Fr.* 308. *οὐδ' οἷσιν ἐπὶ κτενὸς ἦσαν ἔθειραι.*
*ἦσιν* Hecker, Cobet *Coll. Crit.* 152, Schneider. Read *οὐδ' ὅσσον*, as *h.* ii. 36 *οὔποτε Φοίβου θηλείαις οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐπὶ χνόος ἦλθε παρειαῖς*. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 518 *ἐναρίθμιος αἰζηοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν, οὐδέ περ ὅσσον ἐπιχνοάοντας ἰούλους ἀντέλλων*. It is a mark of age.

*Ep.* 28 (*A. P.* vii. 460). *γαῖα φίλη*,...*μήτε σὺ κούφη γίνεο μήτ' ἄλλοι δαίμονες* is perfectly right, as Aesch. *Pers.* 643, 631, *Cho.* 125, 398.

MANETHO (Koechly).

p. 8 *v.* 147. *μειότερον κῦδος βιότου καὶ πρῆξιν ὄπασσαν* for *βιότῳ*: cf. 344, 354, 392, 209.

p. 11 *v.* 242. *ἠὲ καὶ ἄνδρας ἔταξε γυναικείοισιν ἐπ' ἔργοις*, for *ἔτευξε*, as *ἵδρυσε* p. 23 *v.* 80, *εἶσεν* p. 24 *v.* 100. Manetho uses *ἔτευξε* so frequently among his synonyms for *ἐποίησε* that the error was very easy.

p. 61 *v.* 737. *τῷ δὴ τόνδε γε μῦθον ἑκὼν ἄρρητον ἐάσω* (for *ἔχων*) = *ἑκὼν παραλείψω*, *sciens praetermitto*, Ath. 209 e, 346 f, Aesch. *Ag.* 38, Hdt. iii. 75, iv. 43, Aeschin. 22. 39, 61. 41: whence emend Lucian i. 653 *ἐδόκουν...ἑκόντες* [*εἶναι*] *ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι*.

p. 92 A 32. *ὅσσαι δ' αὖ κεν ἔχωσιν* for *ἄν κεν*.

p. 94 *v.* 247. *βλάπτει μὲν βιότου* for *βίοτον*? as Theognis 223, 705, 938, Aesch. *Ag.* 123.

p. 102. *ψόγον ἐν λέκτροις ἀσχήμονα καλλοπρόσαλλον*.

APOLL. RHOD.

i. 1194. *οἰστοδόκον...φαρέτρην* for *οἰστοδόκην* which is a substantive (Poll. x. 142) like *ἰοδόκη* ii. 679, iii. 156, *A. P.* v. 268, xii. 45, xvi. 196, and many others (Lob. *Phryn.* 307, Cobet *V. L.* 579); the adjectives are of two terminations, as *φαρέτρη ἰοδόκος* Hom. *ϕ* 11, Pittacus (Bergk III 198).

iii. 355. *ἕκαστά κε* for *γε*.

iii. 548. *δοκέω δέ μιν οὐκ ἀθερίξειν* for *ἀθερίζειν*.

iv. 49. *οὐδέ τις ἔγνω τήν γε* for *τήνδε*.

„ 1744 read *τῶν ἅρ ἐπὶ μνῆστιν κραδίῃ βάλεν ἔκ τ' ὀνόμηνεν*, for *κραδίῃ*, which the editors give, though cod. Laur. has *κραδίηι* in accordance with the Greek language.

W. G. HEADLAM.

## AETNA 171, 2 MUNRO.

*Hinc uenti rabies, hinc saeuo quassat hiatu*
*Fundamenta soli, trepidant urbesque caducae.*

So the Cambridge MS, except that it has *Hic* for the first *Hinc*. But the position of *que* in *urbesque* is suspicious, and so is the combination of *saeuo* with *hiatu*, for which Mähly conjectured *meatu*.

In reading Maurenbrecher's new ed. of the fragments of Sallust, I came across the following passage, Hist. II. 28: *Sed Metello Cordubae hiemante cum duabus legionibus alione casu an, sapientibus ut placet, uenti per caua terrae citatu rupti aliquot montes tumulique sedere.*

This passage, as a whole, exists only in a scholion of cod. Bern. 370 on Luc. I. 552, published by Usener in a programme de scholiis Horatianis, p. xxxi. From this it was published again, exactly as written in the codex, by Hagen, p. 725 of his *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica*, which forms the 5th heft of the fourth supplemental volume to Jahrb. f. Class. Philologie. The latter part of it (from *uenti*) is preserved also by Isidorus Origg. XIV. 1, 2, De Natura Rerum 46, by Servius on G. II. 479, and by the Bern Scholiast on the same passage of the Georgics, both with the omission of the words *rupti—sedere*.

When Hagen wrote his discussion of the passage (Schol. Bern. Verg. p. 725) the only other codex in which the abl. *citatu* is preserved then examined was that of the Bern Scholia on G. II. 479, which runs as follows: *Vnde tremor terris.* Alii dicunt, uentum esse in concauis terrae, qui motatus etiam terram mouet. Salustius dicit: uenti per caua terrae citatu.

The earliest MSS of Isidorus, both in the Origines and the De Natura Rerum, which Hagen examined, have *citati, praecipitati, praecipitatim,* or *concitati:* the MSS of Servius then known agreed in giving *citati.* Hagen however found in the very early Servius of the 8th or 9th century at Bern (363) *citatu,* and this is also the reading of three MSS of Servius (*A VH*) collated for the edition of Servius' commentary by him and Thilo (vol. I. p. 264).

The abl. *citatu* must, as Hagen argues, be right: *citati* gives no tolerable construction, and hardly admits of being translated. On the other hand *citatu* is parallel to *alione casu,* a causal ablative, the only difficulty attending which is the exact *meaning* of the word. I incline to think that we have here a rare use of *citare* in its strict sense, as the frequentative of *ciere,* to set in violent or impetuous motion, nearly = *concitatione.* This sense is of course seen, in a slightly altered form, in *citatus* swift, rapid, *citatim* swiftly.

This word *citatu* I propose to restore in the v. of Aetna:

> Hinc uenti rabies: hinc saeuo quassa *cita*tu
> Fundamenta soli trepidant urbesque caducae.

It will be observed that the two passages are speaking of the same thing, the effect of wind rushing along the porosities of the earth in producing earthquakes or subsidences of the soil.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## EMENDATIONES HOMERICAE (OD. I—V).

*a* 37 *εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον· ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς.*

In the latter part of this verse two solutions of the difficulty caused by the neglect of the digamma in *εἴπομεν* hold the field. The most popular device is to remove the adverbial *πρό*, a course originally proposed by Knight, afterwards advocated by Bekker (Hom. Blätt. II p. 21) and adopted by Nauck and others. The other alternative is to omit the enclitic pronoun, *οἱ*, add the augment to the verb, and so reach as a resultant reading, *προεείπομεν*. This is Hoffmann's emendation, though Bentley seems to have anticipated him, v. Jour. Phil. No. XLII Bentley's Notes on the Odyssey, A. Platt. However, the question of priority in this case is not very important. The fact is, after due consideration I am fully persuaded that neither alternative is right. I deprecate the sacrifice of either *πρό* or *οἱ* as wholly unnecessary. The tradition is in the main correct. No omission is required to restore the primitive form of the clause, but rather the addition of one letter, thus:—

*ἐπεὶ πρό Ϝ' ἐείπομεν ἡμεῖς, (Ϝ' = Ϝοι).*

It is noteworthy and not a little curious, that the expansion of *εἴπομεν* into *ἐείπομεν*, thanks to the legitimacy of the elision of the diphthong *-οι* even before a short syllable, actually enables – ∪ – to become – ∪ ∪. The same phenomenon appears in Ψ 392, where for *ἵππειον δέ οἱ ἦξε* the Cambridge Homer, following van Leeuwen and da Costa, rightly exhibits *ἵππειον δέ Ϝ' ἔαξε*. We may compare Z 289 *ἔνθα Ϝ' ἔσαν πέπλοι* for *ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι* in the same edition. It is, I fear, only

out of profound disrespect for the concluding books of the Odyssey, which Aristarchus fell foul of, that Mr Platt allows (ω 208) *ἔνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔεν* to appear rather than *ἔνθα Ϝ' ἦην οἶκος*, which pari ratione is unmistakably the true reading.

From this same little esteemed book however let me take an excellent illustration of the above-mentioned conversion of the cretic into the dactyl by the addition of a syllable. We now find in our texts:—

ω 56 *ἔρχεται οὗ παιδὸς τεθνηότος ἀντιόωσα.*

But, if we wish the line to scan at all, we certainly ought to read:—

*ἔρχεθ' ἑοῦ παιδός.*

The above facts are of some importance as evidence to determine the nature of elision in Homer. The elided syllable was, it seems, not slurred over in pronunciation, but removed altogether: for a short syllable could hardly absorb, i.e. amalgamate with itself, the longer diphthong and still retain, as it does, its original quantity unaltered.

It is perhaps desirable to mention that the position of the enclitic pronoun following the *πρό* in *a* 37 has been made the subject of stricture. Unduly, because the emphasis upon the adverb fully justifies the inverted order. Even a slight degree of emphasis suffices to bring about such a deviation from the general rule as to the place of the enclitic personal pronoun in Homeric verse, e.g. with single words:—

*a* 264 *ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμός·*
*γ* 367 *εἶμ', ἔνθα χρεῖός μοι ὀφέλλεται,*
*ι* 278 *εἰ μὴ θυμός με κελεύοι.*
*κ* 293 *ὁππότε κεν Κίρκη σ' ἐλάσῃ*
*π* 371 *ἡμεῖς δ' ἐνθάδε οἱ φραζώμεθα.*

So with phrases:—

*μ* 178 *οἱ δ' ἐν νηΐ μ' ἔδησαν*
*ψ* 16 *καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου μ' ἀνεγείρεις.*

I will adduce from the Iliad one instance only out of many:—

I 474 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη μοι ἐπήλυθε νὺξ ἐρεβεννη,* (cf. Hym. Dem. 51)

because it seems to me to show unmistakably the error of altering the order of:—

η 261 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄγδοόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθεν,* (= ξ 287)

either into *ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ὄγδοον ἦλθεν* with van L. and da C. or into *ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μ' ὄγδωον* (v. Monro H. G. § 365 note). I make no question as to the philological validity of the new form of the adjective. Dindorf's *ὀγδόατον* however is amply sufficient without any transposition:—

*ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὀγδόατόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθεν.*

The metrical effect is similar to the opening of Λ 386 *εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον.*

*

α 343 *τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ*
*ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος.*

The athetesis of Aristarchus was laid upon l. 344, and scholars are still divided on the question of the correctness of this condemnation. I take sides unhesitatingly with the defenders of the line, not only because Aristarchus proceeded on the needless assumption that Ἑλλάς here denoted the whole of Greece instead of the Thessalian city or district, but because it seems impossible that Penelope's speech should end with l. 343, and *τοίην κεφαλήν* be left without further indication of the person alluded to, viz. her husband. So much seems to me certain from the parallel passage:—

λ 549 *τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἕνεκ' αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχεν*
*Αἴανθ', ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο,*

where a similar *τοίην κεφαλήν* has its epexegesis in *Αἴαντα.* There is therefore very fair reason for accepting l. 344 as both genuinely archaic and fully entitled to its place in this passage.

In one respect however the comparison with λ 550 leads me to suspect the presence of a slight later modification. There we find not an appositional genitive *Αἴαντος* but a

true apposition Αἴαντα. Here we have κεφαλὴν ἀνδρός, which hardly strikes one as quite a valid Homeric expression. We have for example Τεῦκρε, φίλη κεφαλή (Θ 281), but such an address as, ὦ Τεύκροιο φίλη κεφαλή, is not to be met with in the pages of Homer, although ὦ φίλον Τεύκρου κάρα would be unimpeachable in Attic Tragedy. Again there is a further complication in the undeniable possibility of taking ἀνδρός directly in construction with μεμνημένη contrary to the general usage of that participle, cf. δ 151, E 263, T 153, Hym. Aphr. 283. All ambiguity is removed, an archaic usage restored and the parallelism with λ 549 f. made closer by reading :—

ἄνδρα, τόο κλέος εὐρύ κτλ.

It is easy to see that the archaic τόο, not being tolerable to the ears of the later Greeks, would be the prime cause of the supersession of the acc., ἄνδρα, by the gen., ἀνδρός, which is indeed rather a neat modification.

To forestall an objection—not perhaps a very weighty one —that

δ 726 = 816 ἐσθλόν, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος

supports the spondee in the first foot, I will suggest that there also the opening rhythm was originally dactylic, thus :—

ἐσθλόν, ὅο κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος,

so that all three passages might be included in the number of those affording probable instances of the archaic genitive in -οο, v. Monro H. G. § 98. A reference to Mr Monro's list will show that in B 325 ὅο has already been rightly reinstated before this very word κλέος in place of the traditional extravagance ὅου.

*

α 403 μὴ γὰρ ὅ γ' ἔλθοι ἀνήρ, ὅς τίς σ' ἀέκοντα βίηφι κτήματ' ἀπορραίσει' Ἰθάκης ἔτι ναιεταούσης.

We need hardly be delayed in the consideration of this passage with the theory that μὴ—ἔλθοι should be regarded as a concessive optative, uttered in a threatening tone (Ameis),

rather than as an ordinary optative of wish. 'Far be it that he should come' may be taken with Mr Monro H. G. § 299 (*a*) to be the expression of a prayer or wish. Of the three forms *ναιεταούσης*, *ναιετοώσης* (Aristarchus) and *ναιεταώσης* I am content to give the preference to the first, and lastly instead of the future *ἀπορραίσει* of the MSS., which is not only anomalous with *ὅς τις*, but also metrically objectionable, I accept as indispensably correct the optative in *-ειε* with elision from Bentley, Voss, Bekker and other editors.

The above points being disposed of or set aside, I challenge the admissibility of the verb *ἀπορραίω* here in any form whatever. In support of this protest the usage of *ῥαίω* and its compounds elsewhere in Homer requires examination. We find:—

ε 221 *εἰ δ' αὖ τις ῥαίῃσι θεῶν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,*
ψ 234 *ὧν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ | ῥαίσῃ,*
ν 151 (*ἐθέλω -νῆα-*) *ῥαῖσαι, ἵν' ἤδη σχῶνται, ἀπολλήξωσι δὲ πομπῆς*
θ 569 (*φῆ -νῆα*) *ῥαίσεσθαι, μέγα δ' ἦμιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψειν,*
ν 177 (*φῆ -νῆα-*) *ῥαισέμεναι, μέγα δ' ἦμιν κτλ.* (Leg. *ἄμμιν* cf. Ω 355 below.)
ζ 326 *ῥαιομένου, ὅτε μ' ἔρραιε κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος.*
ι 459 (*ἐγκέφαλος-*) *θεινομένου ῥαίοιτο πρὸς οὔδεϊ,*
Π 339 *φάσγανον ἐρραίσθη.*

*διαρραίω*:—

μ 290 *νῆα διαρραίουσι θεῶν ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων.*
Ι 78 *νὺξ δ' ἥδ' ἠὲ διαρραίσει στρατὸν ἠὲ σαώσει.*
β 49 (*ὃ δὴ τάχα οἶκον ἅπαντα*) *πάγχυ διαρραίσει,*
α 251 *οἶκον ἐμόν· τάχα δή με διαρραίσουσι καὶ αὐτόν.* (= π 128)
Β 473, Λ 713, 733, Ρ 727 *διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες.*
Ω 355 *ἄνδρ' ὁρόω, τάχα δ' ἄμμε διαρραίσεσθαι ὀΐω.*

*ἀπορραίω* only recurs:—

π 428 *τόν ῥ' ἔθελον φθῖσαι καὶ ἀπορραῖσαι φίλον ἦτορ.*

The meaning of the verb is clearly marked throughout, and is

established by a sufficient number of instances. 'To break by a blow,' 'to smite and shatter,' is the notion everywhere conveyed. It is only when we get to the present passage that this meaning becomes inapplicable. Here moreover *ἀπορραίω*, 'to break off,' appropriates to itself the construction as well as the sense of *ἀποαιρεῖσθαι* (*ἀφαιρεῖσθαι*). So we are told: but is the statement in any degree credible? It requires a robust faith. Is it not rather a comfortable delusion, in which distressed commentators, ancient ones I admit, have found refuge from their perplexity? For my own part I am convinced that neither Homer nor any one else ever could or ever did speak of 'breaking a man off his possessions' or of 'breaking his possessions away from a man.' Such an expression would indeed be a whimsical linguistic oddity almost passing beyond the fairly wide limits of latter-day American humour.

The condemnation of the verb here would, I apprehend, hold good even if no satisfactory solution of the difficulty were forthcoming. It is surely better to recognise and frankly admit an imperfection than to gloze it over and pretend to be unconscious of its existence. But the puzzle seems by no means an insoluble one. The original word here, I believe, was not *ἀπορραίω* at all but *ἀπαυράω* (*ἀποϝρέω* or *ἀπόϝρημι*), which supplies the precise meaning and construction required:—

*ὅς τίς σ' ἀέκοντα βίηφι*
*κτήματ' ἀποϝρήσει'*

Now in dealing with this verb the later Greeks after the loss of the digamma from the language had two courses open, either to let *υ* represent the *ϝ* or to drop the *ϝ* altogether and make compensation by doubling the *ρ*. Consequently we might expect to find here either *ἀπουρήσειε* or *ἀπορρήσειε*. Either, I say, would have served; but unfortunately neither could be for a moment tolerated by Greek readers. Both forms involved for their ears the suggestion of an *ἀπρεπές*, which, though it need not be particularised, rendered the presentation of the words impossible. The Greeks of

course were not troubled by any antiquarian respect for the obsolete, and accordingly in searching about for a respectable equivalent readily acquiesced in *ἀπορραίω* in spite of the shortcomings in respect of construction and meaning already touched upon. For a parallel compare H 453, where, as I have suggested, *ἀθλήσαντε* has displaced *ἀντλήσαντε*, also O 30.

It remains to see whether there is any trace in Homer of this future and 1 aorist. We have a 2 aor. part. *ἀπούρας* (*ἀπόϝρας*) eight times, *ἀπηύρα* (*ἀπέϝρα*) twenty times, *ἀπηύρων* four times (1 pers. sing.), once (3 pers. plur.). The pres. *ἀπαυράω* is not Homeric, and its diphthong *-αυ* for *-οϝ* is supposed by Buttmann to be due to the analogy of *ἐπαυρίσκομαι*. The future however may, I think, be recognised even through its masquerading disguise in :—

X 489 *ἔσσοντ' ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπουρίσσουσιν ἀρούρας*

Such is the usual reading: but *ἀπουρήσουσιν* is supported by C Ven. B. Harl. Mosc. 2 Paris (La Roche), is adopted by Buttmann, Bekker and others, and is doubtless correct. To this I will add several passages, in which it may be permissible to suggest that the more familiar *αἱρήσω* has superseded the form under discussion. Of course *αἱρέω* had an initial *ϝ*, as is clear from A 230, 275 (cf. B 329, Σ 260, K 235). In general those instances of *αἱρέω* which reject *ϝ*, admit of easiest correction, e.g. P 67 *χλωρὸν δέος αἱρεῖ* and H 479 *χλωρὸν δέος ἥρει*. These are clearly mere thoughtless modifications of *χλωρὸν δέος εἷλεν*, which may be found in its original integrity Θ 77, *χ* 42, *ω* 533, Hym. Dem. 190. There are in all five such instances of *αἱρεῖ*, and no less than nine of *ἥρει*. To these we may add one instance of each from the Hymns.

Consequently in Λ 453, where we now read

*ὅσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντι περ*

it is possible and even probable that the original stood :—

*ὅσσε καταϝρήσουσι θανόντι περ*

Similarly in :—

A 161 *καὶ δή μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς,*
Ψ 544 *τοῦτο ἔπος· μέλλεις γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἄεθλον,*

φ 261 ἑστάμεν· οὐ μὲν γάρ τιν' ἀναιρήσεσθαι ὀΐω,
χ 9 ἦ τοι ὁ καλὸν ἄλεισον ἀναιρήσεσθαι ἔμελλε,

the unfamiliar and obsolete forms *ἀποϝρήσεσθαι* and *ἀναϝρήσεσθαι* must readily have made way for the familiar and equally convenient compounds of *αἱρέω*.

I come now to the more difficult case of the 1 aor. *ἔϝρησα*. The rehabilitation of this tense, periculosae plenum opus aleae, cannot be essayed with more than a moderate hope of success. Nevertheless it seems worth while to suggest that the very form I am seeking to restore to *α* 404, *ἀποϝρήσειε*, may be the original, from which has come by an easy metathesis of letters the much debated *ἀποέρσειε*:—

Φ 329 μή μιν ἀποέρσειε μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης.

From this we cannot of course separate:—

Φ 283 ὅν ῥά τ' ἔναυλος ἀποέρσῃ χειμῶνι περῶντα.
Ζ 348 ἔνθα με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.

In favour of this identification it may be urged, that the meaning 'take or carry off' is more simple and satisfactory than any other, the peculiar lengthening of the *ο* of *ἀπο-* is thus fully accounted for, while the variation of quantity in *ἀπορρήσῃ—ἀπόρησε* finds an exact parallel in the use of *ἀναρροιβδεῖ* and *ἀναροιβδεῖ* in consecutive lines (*μ* 104—5).

There is less room for hesitation in recognising our verb in a different connection of ideas:—

Ω 454 (ἐπιβλὴς) εἰλάτινος, τὸν τρεῖς μὲν ἐπιρρήσσεσκον Ἀχαιοί,
456 τῶν ἄλλων· Ἀχιλεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐπιρρήσσεσκε καὶ οἷος· (δέ ϝ')

So these verbs usually appear in our texts: but nearly all the MSS. have the single, not the double sigma, *ἐπιρρήσεσκον -κε*. Editors seem to have unfortunately adopted *σσ* from a desire to identify the word with the equally mysterious *ῥήσσω* (Σ 571). I submit that *ἐπιϝρήσεσκον -κε*, or more correctly *ἐπιϝρήσασκον -κε*, adequately meet the requirements of these two passages.

If this be so, and if *ἐπιϝρέω* may be taken to be the proper

expression for 'putting to' a bar, there seems every probability that in another passage of this book :—

*α* 441 *βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο, θύρην δ' ἐπέρυσσε κορώνῃ*

where the neglect of the *ϝ* in *ἐπέρυσσε* has long been cause of surprise, while the preposition can hardly be omitted, the original was *ἐπέρησε* i.e. *ἐπέϝρησε*, with a quantitative freedom similar to that noticed above in the case of Z 348.

*

*β* 52 *οἳ πατρὸς μὲν [ἐς] οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι*
*Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα,*
*δοίη δ' ᾧ κ' ἐθέλοι καί οἱ κεχαρισμένος ἔλθοι.*

The preposition must of course be removed as a metrical necessity (Bekker). The change I have to advocate in l. 53 is a very slight one :—

*ὅς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο.*

In as much as in the oldest writing *ω* and *ο* were indistinguishable (Eur. Phoen. 682. Schol. *πρὸ ἄρχοντος γὰρ Εὐκλείδου μήπω τῶν μακρῶν εὑρημένων τοῖς βραχέσιν ἀντὶ μακρῶν ἐχρῶντο τῷ* E *ἀντὶ τοῦ* H *καὶ τῷ* O *ἀντὶ τοῦ* Ω), there would be no objection palaeographically to this emendation. In Φ 127 *ὅς κε φάγῃσι* Aristophanes desired to introduce *ὥς κε*— by no means an improvement. From a grammatical point of view the question appears at first sight to stand on a similar footing: for either the final conjunction or the relative pronoun may be defended as a legitimate and recognised usage. For the former v. Monro H. G. § 306 (1). 'In Final Clauses (after *ὡς, ὅπως, ἵνα*) the Opt. may be used either (*a*) to indicate that the consequence is not immediate or certain (the governing Verb having a present or future meaning), or (*b*) because the governing Verb is an Opt., or (*c*) a Secondary Tense.' For the latter v. H. G. § 304 Relative Clauses—Final. (1) (*a*) (*b*) 'The Opt. with *κεν* is especially common after a principal Clause of *negative* meaning (in which case the consequence is necessarily matter of mere *supposition*).'

It would only be, I take it, an expansion of Mr Monro's explanation to say that in the supposed case:—

ὅς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα,

as in every other instance quoted under the rule, the optative with κε virtually stands as the apodosis to a suppressed protasis, which might be represented generally by some such words as 'in that case,' 'under such circumstances,' 'if that were done' (εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοι). The relation existing between the relative clause and the principal one may accordingly be one of parataxis—a possibility distinctly contemplated in certain cases, H. G. 304 'Sometimes the Opt. in a Relative Clause is used precisely as in an independent sentence.' Elsewhere, it is true (Preface p. xiv Ed. 2), Mr Monro deprecates the too extended employment of parataxis to explain the origin of subordinate clauses; but this warning applies not so much to simple relative sentences as to those introduced by full-fledged conjunctions. Especially in regard to conditional sentences with εἰ this form of analysis has been pushed to extremes, as far as Homer is concerned, by L. Lange, against some of whose conclusions it is time a protest was raised. Still within reasonable limits the explanation of parataxis is valid, and it would not be treading on untenable ground, to say that in relative sentences such as the one now in question the principle of parataxis is still visibly paramount, and therefore the classification of such sentences as Final Clauses is at least unnecessary, if not actually objectionable. Nothing seems to be gained by such an arrangement, and its abolition, in so much as it would be a simplification, would be a welcome improvement. This applies also in an equal degree to those relative clauses in which we have the subjunctive with κε, v. H. G. § 282, where the admission made is worthy of note, 'In other instances the notion of End is less distinctly conveyed so that the Subj. need only have the emphatic Future meaning.' Would it not be preferable to say that in every case the notion of End is accidental and separable, not inherent and essential? It is, I think, clearly not desirable that ὅς κέν τοι εἴπῃσι (κ 539) should be differentiated as non-final from ὅς κ' εἴποι (A 63) as final, when

the former merely conveys a more positive assurance than the latter. Teiresias (*κ* 539) certainly can give the information. Whether Calchas (A 63) can or not, is problematical. If this be the only real difference, as I submit it is, it becomes easy to see why either form can follow a primary tense. The optative, as Mr Monro points out, is naturally more common after a clause of negative meaning, but is by no means precluded from following a positive statement e.g. H 231. On the other hand, and here we have an important side of the argument, the real final clauses, in which we have the optative with *ὡς*, *ὅπως*, *ἵνα* &c. after a verb of present or future meaning, seem to rest on a very questionable and insecure basis. All the instances given by Mr Monro H. G. § 306 (*a*) readily admit, and some loudly call for, correction. The first is A 344, where no one believes in *μαχέοιντο*. The next is our present passage *β* 53. In *ψ* 135 *φήῃ* (Kirchhoff) may be read for *φαίη*, *μ* 157 *φύγωμεν* for *φύγοιμεν*, *ρ* 250 *ἅλφῃ* (Hermann) for *ἅλφοι*, *ν* 402 *φανήῃς* (Schaefer) for *φανείης* (the former indeed appears in the Oxford Homer, 1896), *π* 297 *ἑλώμεθα* (Kirchhoff) for *ἑλοίμεθα*, and lastly *ω* 532 *διακρινθῆτε* for *διακρινθεῖτε* is suggested in the Hom. Gram. and adopted in the Oxford Homer. If these passages, as little to be relied upon as Falstaff's ragged recruits, be all the rule can appeal to for support, it does not require much courage to bid it begone—*πολλὰ χαίρειν*, and if the rule collapse, then the vulgate *ὡς* loses its support and the emendation here proposed becomes fairly certain.

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*β* 127 *ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ' ἴμεν οὔτε πη ἄλλῃ,*
*πρίν γ' αὐτὴν γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν.*

The legitimacy of the use of *αὐτήν*, or of any other case of *αὐτός*, as an ordinary pronoun of the third person is a moot point in Homer. In this very speech of Antinous *αὐτῇ*, 'herself,' occurs twice (114, 125) in emphatic contrast with *πατήρ* in the first instance, with *σοί γε* in the second. So strongly is the necessity for some such emphasis instinctively felt, that many scholars are not satisfied to translate here, 'before she marry,' but would render, 'before she herself

marry,' 'she for her part,' in contrast with the preceding *ἡμεῖς* (Ameis-Hentze). Nothing could be more absurdly and frigidly forced. Yet it seems a strong measure in default of MSS. support, which is entirely lacking, to pronounce *αὐτήν* a modernisation and to propound as the original reading:—

*πρίν γέ ἑ τῷ γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν.*

Neither would I adventure to do so with any confidence except for the revelation made in a later book, where these lines recur in a direct address to Penelope. There the pronoun being necessarily of the second person, it was impossible for the most enterprising improver to foist in *αὐτήν*. The passage is:—

*σ* 288 *ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ' ἴμεν οὔτε πη ἄλλῃ,*
*πρίν γέ σε τῷ γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος.*

So far from believing with Kirchhoff that either of these couplets is not genuine, I think we may feel sure that the expression *τῷ—Ἀχαιῶν*, being of an archaic and obsolete cast, has been the origin of the trouble and that the later Greeks were very glad to be able to eliminate *τῷ* from *β* 128 at least in favour of the familiar *αὐτήν*. For further assurance let me bring forward two other passages, in which a precisely similar use of *τῷ* has been so unfavourably regarded that another word, simple and inoffensive in itself, but involving a bad hiatus, has displaced it. The passages in question are:—

*π* 76 *ἦ ἤδη ἄμ' ἔπηται Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος*
*τ* 528 *ἦ ἤδη ἄμ' ἕπωμαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος.*

In both places read *τῷ* instead of *ἅμα*.

It might seem possible to set up a defence for the hiatus after *ἤδη* by adducing the parallel of:—

Π 438 *ἦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενοιτιάδαο δαμάσσω.*

But in this case also there is no reason why we should not remedy the defect with a tolerable degree of certainty after comparing:—

Z 368 *ἦ ἤδη μ' ὑπὸ χερσὶ θεοὶ δαμόωσιν Ἀχαιῶν,*

by restoring the original thus:

*ἦ ἤδη Ϝ' ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενοιτιάδαο δαμάσσω.*

This position of the enclitic is remarked on in the note on *α* 37.

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*β* 203 *χρήματα δ' αὖτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἶσα ἔσσεται, ὄφρα κεν κτλ.*

The difficulty here is in the clause *οὐδέ ποτ' ἶσα ἔσσεται*, 'nor shall he ever have compensation' or 'fair treatment.' The meaning given to *ἶσα* may possibly pass without serious objection, the neuter plural being used to express the abstract condition or state of 'equality': but it is clear that the omission of the Ϝ from *ἶσα* cannot be ancient. If the poet had desired to use either *Ϝἶσος* or *ἐϜἶσος* here, he could have done so without the slightest difficulty by saying *οὐδ' ἄρα ἶσα* or *οὐδέ τι ἶσα* or even *οὐδ' ἔτι ἶσα*. None of these however is at all likely to have been changed into *οὐδέ ποτ' ἶσα*. If then Homer did not use either of the above expressions, which are metrically correct, and moreover could not have given us the unmetrical vulgate, from what original can this *οὐδέ ποτ' ἶσα* have been derived? Cauer has almost hit the truth by suggesting *οὐδ' ἀποτῖσαι* with a very close adherence to the letters of the tradition. The meaning however so attained is not quite satisfactory. If we could translate the sentence thus, 'there shall be no paying-back,' we might acquiesce in the emendation. But I venture to maintain that the only correct rendering of *οὐδ' ἀποτῖσαι ἔσσεται* would be 'it will not be possible to pay back.' This is apparent from every parallel passage that can be quoted from Homer to illustrate the use of the impersonal *ἐστι* with an infinitive. I adduce no examples. Less than all would be useless: all would involve too large a demand on the reader's patience.

Now after refusing to accept as satisfactory this gratuitous confession of impecuniosity or at any rate of inability to pay, which Cauer has introduced and Mr Platt has welcomed in the Cambridge Homer, it is only fair that I should indicate what seems to me a better way. It is this:—

*χρήματα δ' αὖτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται, οὐδ' ἀπότιτα*
*ἔσσεται, ὄφρα κεν κτλ.*

'But (so far from heeding your warnings) his substance shall be eaten despitefully, nor shall it be paid for, as long as &c.'

Here *ἀπότιτα* with the long penultimate supplies, as *ἀποτῖσαι* does not, an obvious and adequate reason for the corruption. In general this verbal adj. has the penultimate short e.g. *β* 144 *παλίντιτα*, N 415 *ἄτιτος*. At the same time the long quantity is sufficiently defended by Ξ 484 *δηρὸν ἄτιτος ἔῃ*. So we have *ἀνούτᾰτος* (Δ 540), but *ἀνουτητί* (X 371).

As may be seen from the version above, I have taken *ἀπότιτα* in the way Eustathius, I fear, erroneously wished to take *ἶσα*, as an adjective agreeing with *χρήματα*. This seems to me a material simplification. At the same time, if we are so disposed, it is obviously quite possible, in fact more easily possible than with the traditional *ἶσα*, to take the adjective substantivally, since the analogy between *ἀπότιτα* and the parallels *εὐκτά* (Ξ 98), *φυκτά* (*θ* 299, Π 128) and *ἀνεκτά* (*υ* 223) is really closer than before. 'There shall be no repayment' is therefore open as a valid rendering.

I have not thought it necessary to discuss other remedies that have been suggested, such as Bekker's or rather Bentley's *αἶσα*, accepted by Nauck, or Fick's adventurous novelty, the noun *ἀποτείσα*.

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*β* 367 *οἱ δέ τοι αὐτίκ' ἰόντι κακὰ φράσσονται ὀπίσσω,*
*ὥς κε δόλῳ φθίῃς, τάδε δ' αὐτοὶ πάντα δάσονται.*

I propose here to read:—

*ὥς κε δόλῳ φθίεαι,*

The process of corruption I conceive to have been this. First the form *φθίεαι*, which would hardly convey to the Greek mind in later times the idea of a subjunctive mood at all, though it is clearly the 2 aor. subj. midd. (from *ἐφθίμην*) as may be seen from:—

Υ 173 ἤν τινα πέφνῃ (Leg. εἴ τινα)
ἀνδρῶν, ἣ αὐτὸς φθίεται πρώτῳ ἐν ὁμίλῳ·
Ξ 87 ἀργαλέους πολέμους, ὄφρα φθιόμεσθα ἕκαστος·

this *φθίεαι*, I say, would naturally and almost inevitably become *φθίῃ*. Indeed in our textus receptus wherever the termination *-εαι* does not form the end of a dactyl in itself we generally find *-ῃ* substituted, e.g. τ 254, B 365, Ω 434 &c. From *φθίῃ* the development of *φθίῃς* is not a very extraordinary one, even if no account could be given of the origin of the parasitic sigma. Now the use of the present *φθίω* in Homer rests solely on this passage and on the equally doubtful imperfect *ἔφθιεν* in :—

Σ 446 ἦ τοι ὁ τῆς ἀχέων φρένας ἔφθιεν·

where either a transitive or an intransitive use is admissible. It is to the influence of this *ἔφθιεν* that the final ς of our *φθίῃς* here may be traced. The Greeks sympathetically wished to give *ἔφθιεν* the comfort of a partner in misfortune. Elsewhere for the present *φθίνω* is used. On such a weak foundation as this an intransitive use of *φθίω* can hardly be based with any assured confidence. Mr Monro, who suggested *φθίῃς* as an optative in the first edition of his Homeric Grammar § 285 (2), has not repeated the proposal in the second, v. on β 52 f. ad fin.

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γ 145 ὡς τὸν Ἀθηναίης δεινὸν χόλον ἐξακέσαιτο,
175 τέμνειν, ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπὲκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν.

The reason for the juxtaposition of these entirely unconnected lines will soon be made apparent. In l. 145 it is impossible to suppose that *τόν* is anything other than the regular Attic article of definition. If so, it is certainly not Homeric. The remedy fortunately is, I venture to say, hardly doubtful :—

ὥς κεν Ἀθηναίης δεινὸν χόλον ἐξακέσαιτο,

This seems sufficiently indicated by :—

θ 21 ὥς κεν Φαιήκεσσι φίλος πάντεσσι γένοιτο,
ω 83 ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη.

Similarly of course there are several instances of ὡς ἄν with the optative:—

ο 538 ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὡς ἄν τίς σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι.
(= ρ 165, τ 311)
ρ 362 ὤτρυν', ὡς ἂν πύρνα κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγείροι,
Τ 331 ὡς ἄν μοι τὸν παῖδα—ἐξαγάγοις—δείξειας—.

But ὥς κεν (ἄν) with the opt. really needs no array of passages: it is no more anomalous after a historic tense (v. on β 52 ff.) than ὥς κεν (ἄν) with the subj. after a primary one. In the instance last quoted, one indeed of doubtful antiquity, the original was perhaps:—

ὅππως κέν (ἄν) μοι παῖδα,

but in any case the rather subtle defence of the article there, suggested by Mr Monro H. G. § 261, 3 (a) is not applicable to the present passage, γ 145.

Again in l. 175 I should hope few would deliberately refuse to entertain on the dubious ground of hiatus licitus a similar insertion of the particle κε, though in this case my proposal involves something more considerable in the way of change than the mere addition of the monosyllable:—

τεμνέμεν, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ὑπὲκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν.

It is not difficult to imagine the later Greeks abandoning κε θᾶσσον in favour of the more familiar and emphatic τάχιστα, but not vice versa. Therefore the utmost confidence may be felt in the genuineness of:—

M 25 ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς
συνεχές, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἁλίπλοα τείχεα θείη.
Z 143 ἆσσον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι.
(= Υ 429)
B 440 ἀλλὰ τάχιστα
ἴομεν, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν Ἄρηα.

I will not attempt to conceal the opinion I entertain in respect of this substitution, that the abolition of the hiatus here is a strong point in favour of my proposed reading. Furthermore it is worth noticing that our line, γ 175, supplies

the solitary instance in Homer of hiatus after (ὄφρα) τάχιστα, a small matter perhaps, but φωνᾶεν συνετοῖσιν.

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γ 231 ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι.
βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἐγώ γε καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας
οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι.

The omission of κε in 231 is remarkable. It duly appears in the only other passage which conveys a similar assertion of the potency of divine intervention :—

δ 753 ἦ γάρ κέν μιν ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκ θανάτοιο σαώσαι.

Hence Naber would read θεός κ' ἐθέλων not without some authority of MSS. Nauck evades rather than solves the difficulty by changing σαώσαι into σαώσει; for even if the optative is not assured by δ 753, there can be little doubt of its correctness, when we add the comparison of :—

K 556 ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἀμείνονας ἠέ περ οἵδε
ἵππους δωρήσαιτ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.

Neither of these methods then gives an entirely satisfactory result. It seems to me that the traditional reading may in both cases be derived with greater probability from an original :—

ῥέα κε θεός γ' ἐθέλων.

If this be so, the tenacity with which γ' has held its ground is highly creditable to what are called the conservative forces always operating to maintain the genuine text. The loss of κε would be due to the objection to keeping except from an insuperable necessity the monosyllabic form ῥέα, appearing in five passages only, from which indeed it would require some ingenuity to effect its removal without making ruin of the sense :—

M 381 κεῖτο μέγας παρ' ἔπαλξιν ὑπέρτατος· οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέα
Υ 101 ἶσον τείνειεν πολέμου τέλος, οὔ κε μάλα ῥέα
N 144 ῥέα διελεύσεσθαι κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
Υ 263 ῥέα διελεύσεσθαι μεγαλήτορος Αἰνείαο
P 461 ῥέα μὲν γὰρ φεύγεσκεν ὑπὲκ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ

In N 90, P 285, ῥεῖα μετεισάμενος is clearly ῥέα μεταεισάμενος (Fick, who writes ῥᾶ).

There is little cause for surprise that ῥεῖα, which occurs ten times to ῥέα once and holds undisputed possession of the Odyssey, should have settled down in the convenient place before θεός and shouldered out the little κε altogether. Cf. ε 169 εἴ κε θεοί γε.

The above account of the matter is surely preferable to maintaining the legitimacy of the pure optative, as some do. The evidence for this usage is scanty, especially as regards affirmative sentences. Four only are quoted, γ 231, K 556, 247, O 197, v. Monro H. G. § 299 (f). The first two are here dealt with, and no reliance can possibly be placed on:—

O 197 θυγατέρεσσιν γάρ τε καὶ υἱάσι βέλτερον εἴη
ἐκπάγλοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐνισσέμεν.

Dr Leaf suggests γάρ κε doubtfully: but the dative after ἐνισσέμεν is not the case required. Read:—

θυγατέρας μὲν γάρ κε καὶ υἱοὺς βέλτερον εἴη.

In K 246 perhaps τοῖό γέ κε σπομένοιο κτλ.

But to return to our passage, I have a suggestion to make on the concluding line:—

οἵκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι.

So it stands giving some countenance to the theory of the in-and-out character of the digamma in Homer. It is supposed to be present or absent according to circumstances, as the speaker may decide, like the Irish members in the first Home Rule Bill.

The original constitution of the line would not however have allowed any such looseness. Read instead of the vulgate:—

οἵκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἀρέσθαι.

So also ε 220, where the line is repeated. Of course ζ 311 ἵνα νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἴδηαι must follow suit. Probably also ε 209 and Epigr. VII. 3. We may compare α 5:—

ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.

For, as Curtius (Gk. Et.[4] p. 343) points out, *ἀρέσθαι* (*ἄρασθαι*) is to be referred to *ἄρνυμαι*, and not with the lexicons generally to *αἴρω*, a word which is not really Homeric at all, though it appears once:—

P 724 *Τρωϊκός, ὡς εἴδοντο νέκυν αἴροντας Ἀχαιούς,*

where Brandreth's *ὡς ἔιδον νέκυν ἀείροντας* is probably the original reading.

If further confirmation of the idea, that *ἀρέσθαι* is the true original rather than *ἰδέσθαι* in this collocation, be required, it is supplied by such an expression as:—

*α* 9 *αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.*

Here we have the same line of thought from the opposite side. That which Odysseus' followers fail to win (*ἀρέσθαι*) is said to be taken from them by Eëlios. Similarly we find *ἀπώλεσε νόστιμον ἦμαρ* (*α* 354) and *ὤλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ* (*α* 168, *ρ* 253).

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*γ* 255 *ἦ τοι μὲν τόδε καὐτὸς ὀίεαι, ὥς κεν ἐτύχθη.*

Some ancient critics wrote here *κ' αὐτός*, i.e. *κε αὐτός*; but *κε* must in spite of Spitzner's opinion to the contrary be pronounced inadmissible. The crasis of *καὶ αὐτός* however is by no means an assured Homeric license. It is indeed to say the least very questionable. Hence G. Hermann proposed to read here *τόδε γ' αὐτός*. But is not *τόδε* itself objectionable in this place? The matter referred to is not one that can readily or naturally be regarded as immediately present. It is a speculative contingency in the past—what would have happened, if Menelaus had arrived home earlier than he actually did. If we further emphasise this *τόδε* by the addition of *γε*, we only make the objection to the word still stronger. To obviate this it would, I think, be preferable to delete the last syllable of *τόδε* and read the Homeric, but un-Attic, *τό*:—

*ἦ τοι μὲν τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀίεαι, ὥς κεν ἐτύχθη.*

There are in our texts but four instances of the crasis of *καί* before *αὐτός*. The other three are

Z 260 *πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὐτὸς ὀνήσεαι, αἴ κε πίῃσθα.*
N 734 *καί τε πολέας ἐσάωσε, μάλιστα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνέγνω.*
ζ 282 *βέλτερον, εἰ καὐτή περ ἐποιχομένη πόσιν εὗρεν ἄλλοθεν.*

The first two of these may be briefly dismissed. In Z 260 *κ' αὐτός* (*κε αὐτός*) would not be out of place, as is generally admitted, v. Monro, H. G. § 377, while in N 735 Hermann's *δέ τ' αὐτός* is unquestionably better than *δέ κ'* (*κε*), which Aristarchus with his convenient "*περισσὸς ὁ κεν*" doctrine found no difficulty in accepting.

The remaining passage from the Odyssey may be examined more at length. Nausicaa is contemplating the possibility of one of the baser sort making scandalous and defamatory remarks, if Odysseus should be seen entering the city in her company. The fellow is supposed to say: 'Who is this tall and handsome stranger with her? Where did she find him? Now she'll soon have a husband for herself. Either she has brought some vagabond sailor, a deserter from his ship, a man from some far country, for we have no near neighbours, or some god has descended from heaven in answer to her prayers to make her his wife for ever and ever. It is all the better, if she herself has gone abroad and found a husband, for her Phaeacian suitors here on the spot, she scorns.'

Now we may disregard entirely the traditional athetesis of fourteen lines, 275—288 (*ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι ιδ'* Schol. H. Q.): but I think a strong case, apart from this question of crasis, may be made out for the removal of *εἰ καὐτή—ἄλλοθεν* as a needless and inaccurate later addition, so that ll. 282—3 would stand thus:—

*βέλτερον· ἦ γὰρ τούσδε γ' ἀτιμάζει κατὰ δῆμον*
*Φαίηκας, τοί μιν μνῶνται πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί.*

Βέλτερον, ''tis better so,' is a clause grammatically complete in itself, and refers to what has been already stated, viz. that she has either got hold of a deserter from a foreign ship or a god straight from Olympus.

The pointed allusion to the fickleness of the gods in their love-affairs is a delicately sarcastic touch. 'Whichever altern-

ative be the true one, it is better it should be so,' says the supposed Phaeacian scandal-monger. But here the interpolator comes in, anxious to tell us what it is that is better so, and oblivious that the poet himself has already told us clearly enough. Moreover he blunders in giving us the needless information; for the interpolation, assuming it to be such, implies that the princess had gone in person (*αὐτή περ*) abroad—to a foreign land—to find a husband, an imputation altogether too much at variance with the facts of the case even for a slander.

That *βέλτερον* may be used in this way in reference to a previous statement is certain even without such illustrative parallels as *κάλλιον* γ 358, *θ* 543, *σ* 255, *τ* 128, *κέρδιον* Γ 41 and passim. Again it can hardly be disputed that single-line interpolations are often of the same character as this one. The text of Homer supplies many examples. There is one which is perhaps worth quoting because it follows an instance of *κέρδιον*, and is more than usually flagrant:—

H 351 *νῦν δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ*
*ψευσάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τῷ οὔ νύ τι κέρδιον ἡμῖν*
*ἔλπομαι ἐκτελέεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὧδε.*

The strongest faith in the infallibility of the received text might be shaken by the splendid imbecility of the last line. Even were the metre as sound as the morality, imagination boggles at the poetry.

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δ 106 *μνωομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὔ τις Ἀχαιῶν τόσσ' ἐμόγησεν,*
*ὅσσ' Ὀδυσεὺς ἐμόγησε καὶ ἤρατο.*

'For none of the Achaeans laboured in so many ways as Odysseus laboured and—,' so far all is clear: but what is *ἤρατο*? We may accept the explanation of Eustathius, *ὑπέμεινε καὶ ἐβάστασε*, as Dr Merry does in his very serviceable and well-known edition. He renders *ἐμόγησε καὶ ἤρατο* 'achieved and undertook,' thus making the expression a sort of *ὕστερον πρότερον*. Perhaps 'achieved' a little overdoes *ἐμόγησε*, and certainly objection may be taken to the statement that *ἤρατο*

comes from *αἴρω*, v. on *γ* 232 above. Ameis-Hentze reach the same sense, 'auf sich nahm,' more correctly through *ἄρνυμαι*. The later Greeks, no longer possessing *ἄρνυμαι* as a living word, doubtless preferred to recognise the familiar *αἴρω* and to this end wrote *ἤρατο* rather than *ἤρετο* with its unfortunate suggestion of *ἔρομαι* 'I ask,' which last Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 400) would, I think rightly, restore here and elsewhere.

Leaving these questions of orthography and grammar, let us examine the usage of this aor. *ἠρόμην* or *ἠράμην* in order to ascertain whether there is sufficient justification for attributing to it this meaning of 'undertake' in reference to toil and hardship.

It occurs most frequently, twenty-one times in all, with *κῦδος* as an object, *κῦδος ἀρέσθαι* (*ἤρατο* &c.), with *κλέος* seven times and with *εὖχος* four times, meaning clearly 'to win,' 'acquire,' 'get.' 'To win as a prize' seems to be the proper and primary sense, as appears from I 124 *ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο*, Ψ 592 (*ἵππον*) *τὴν ἀρόμην*, Ξ 510 *ἀνδράγρια—ἤρατο*, I 188 *τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων*, Λ 625 *τὴν ἄρετ' ἐκ Τενέδοιο*, *ν* 137 *ὅσ'—Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς*. Add to these M 435 *μισθὸν ἄρηται* and *α* 390 *τοῦτο—ἀρέσθαι* i.e. the position of *βασιλεύς*. In every case so far the object gained is a desirable one. In fact the Homeric poems present but two exceptions to this usage, exclusive of the passage under discussion: of these two one is only an apparent, the other is a real, exception. The apparent exception is:

Ξ 129 *ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐχώμεθα δηιοτῆτος*
*ἐκ βελέων, μή πού τις ἐφ' ἕλκεϊ ἕλκος ἄρηται.*

Who can doubt that the verb is purposely chosen with more playfulness but with the same ironical intent, as we have seen in the case of *κομίζω* v. note on Ξ 456? The reward they will reap, the prize they will win will be—a second wound. Obviously there is no such irony, either playful or serious, in *ἐμόγησε καὶ ἤρατο*.

The real exception, and the only remaining instance of this aor. in Homer, is adduced by Dr Merry on our passage:—

Υ 247 *πολλὰ μάλ', οὐδ' ἂν νηῦς ἑκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιτο.*

Ineffectually; for the change of one letter here will give us the correct verb, which was not, and could not be, *ἄροιτο*, but, as usage will vouch, *ἄγοιτο*, cf. H 467 *νῆες—οἶνον ἄγουσαι*, I 71 *τὸν νῆες ἄγουσι*, Ω 396 *ἤγαγε νηῦς*, *η* 9 *νέες ἤγαγον*, Π 223 *θῆκ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγεσθαι* &c. The probability of this emendation is further increased by the noun *ἄχθος* itself, which is fittingly joined with its cognate, or seemingly cognate, verb, cf. *ι* 415 *ὠδίνων ὀδύνῃσιν* and Fick's *ἄγριος ἄγρη*, which may serve as an example, though it be but a figment of the learned imagination. Nor is the confusion between *ἄγοιτο* and *ἄροιτο* elsewhere unknown. In Ω 139 *καὶ νεκρὸν ἄγοιτο*, though *ἄγοιτο* is clearly right, yet we find *ἄροιτο* S Flor. On the other hand in *ξ* 297 *ἄσπετον ὦνον ἕλοιτο* the variant *ἄροιτο* seems preferable. In I 124 *ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο* we have an erroneous *ἄγοντο* in a good MS. L.

We have now ascertained that there is little or no support for the idea, derived from Hesychius, that *ἤρατο* can mean 'undertook.' It remains to be seen whether there is any other possible way of understanding the word in this connection *ἐμόγησε καὶ ἤρατο*. With some harshness we might render it 'was successful,' 'won,' the object being not the labour itself, but that for which the labour was incurred. He secured the fruits of his toil. Still this is far from being satisfactory, and therefore I submit as the better course that *ἤρατο* should give place to a somewhat similar epic verb, which may very well have been the original occupant of the position:—

*ἐμόγησε καὶ ἤνυτο,*

'laboured at and consummated,' 'achieved,' 'completed.' This sense, which after all must be extracted even with some violence from the vulgate, as we have seen, comes easily and naturally from *ἤνυτο*, which indeed may have been lost from an idea, fostered by *ε* 243 *θοῶς δέ οἱ ἤνυτο ἔργον*, that it was necessarily passive, cf. *π* 373 *ἀνύσσεσθαι τάδε ἔργα*. *ἤνυσε* would hardly have been displaced.

*

δ 162 ἐέλδετο γάρ σε ἰδέσθαι
ὄφρα οἱ ἤ τι ἔπος ὑποθήσεαι ἠέ τι ἔργον.

With two slight changes the last line may be thus reconstructed:—

ὄφρα οἱ ἤ τι ἔπεσσ' ὑποθήσεαι ἠέ τι ἔργῳ.

The introduction of the dative brings the passage into line with:—

A 394 εἴ ποτε δή τι
ἢ ἔπει ὤνησας κραδίην Διὸς ἠὲ καὶ ἔργῳ (ἠέ τι Bentley),
504 ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ (ὄνησα),
E 879 ταύτην δ' οὔτε ἔπει προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργῳ.

The combination of the plur. ἔπεσσι with the sing. ἔργῳ may easily be defended by such examples as Υ 367 ἐπέεσσι—ἔγχεϊ δ', θ 396 ἐπέεσσι | καὶ δώρῳ, Π 630 τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ'—.

The admissibility at least of the proposed emendation, so far as Homeric usage is concerned, being granted, let us see whether this metrical correction is, or is not, essential to the meaning of the passage. The difficulty of the vulgate is this, that while ὑποθήσεαι ἔργον must mean 'suggest an act,' 'suggest that something should be done,' it is equally certain that ὑποθήσεαι ἔπος can only mean 'make a verbal suggestion,' 'utter a suggestion,' 'say something by way of suggestion.' To put it another way, it is just as inconceivable that ὑποθήσεαι ἔργον should be translated 'suggest by an act,' 'do something by way of suggestion,' as that ὑποθήσεαι ἔπος should convey the absurd idea 'suggest that some one should say something.' The absurdity is even more apparent if we add an adjective. Who would venture to render ὑποθέσθαι πυκινὸν ἔπος 'to suggest that some one should make a wise remark,' though none would hesitate to translate ὑποθέσθαι πυκινὸν ἔργον 'to suggest to some one a wise action'?

In technical language ἔπος in this phrase is the accusative of the internal object, ἔργον the accusative of the external object (v. Monro H. G. § 132). The combination of the two here, even though the rather unepic figure zeugma be called to the rescue, results in such an unmanageable complexity,

that translators have very properly preferred the bolder course of treating either both as internal or both as external. Messrs. Butcher and Lang (1879) adopt the second alternative and render: 'that thou mightest put into his heart some word or work,' in fact, suggest something for him to say or do.

'Dass du Rath ihm zu Worten ertheiletest oder zu Thaten' (Voss).

On the other hand Worsley's verse translation gives elegant expression to the other alternative:—

'For he was fain to see thee and enquire
If word or work thou knowest to forward his desire.'

These last words convey, I believe, the true meaning of the passage, but also involve necessarily that the second line (163) should be read as emended:—

*ὄφρα οἱ ἤ τι ἔπεσσ' ὑποθήσεαι ἠέ τι ἔργῳ,*

'that you may now suggest to him something either by word or act,' i.e. generally 'in some way or other,' or more definitely, 'by advice and assistance,' both of which the speaker's father, Nestor, had already given to Telemachus.

*

δ 684 *μὴ μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὁμιλήσαντες*
*ὕστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν.*

The only question here, by no means an easy one, is the proper understanding of l. 684. There are apart from minor details two main lines of interpretation, which it is necessary to mention:—

(1) 'O that—never having wooed me, nor ever having met here (alio tempore)—they may now eat their very last meal in this place' (Merry). So Ameis-Hentze. This version resolves the couplet into three separate wishes, of which it is the agitated and somewhat indistinct expression, (*a*) Would that they had never wooed me. (*b*) Would that they had never met here at all on any occasion. (*c*) May they now eat their last meal here. The two negative wishes may, of course, be

reckoned as one, the second being regarded as a repetition of the first in more comprehensive terms. ἄλλοθ', which may represent either ἄλλοθι or ἄλλοτε, is a difficulty. The undesirability of either in this version is apparent; but while ἄλλοθι admits of no explanation at all, being nothing less than a flagrant contradiction, ἄλλοτε might refer to meetings held at Odysseus' house previous to the commencement of the wooing. As will be seen in the sequel, I believe ἄλλοθι to be right and to stand in necessary contrast with ἐνθάδε in the next line.

(2) 'Nay, after so much wooing, never again may they come together, but here this day sup for their last and latest time' (Butcher and Lang). Similar is 'No—these suitors—let them, never meeting again, now eat their last meal' (Liddell and Scott). So Hermann, Passow, Nitzsch, and we may add Monro (H. G. § 361) 'May they (after their wooing) have no other meeting but sup now for the last time.'

In this view both negatives, μή and μηδέ, are taken with ὁμιλήσαντες alone, the other participle, μνηστεύσαντες, being treated as parenthetical and, as it seems, almost equivalent to the noun μνηστῆρες. ἄλλοτε is again accepted rather than ἄλλοθι.

L. Lange's peculiar explanation, that Penelope merely supposes the case that this might be the last meal of the suitors, and then immediately, or even before, she has said it, for the negatives precede, checks herself with a No! No!, indicates at all events that there is something unconvincing in the ordinary versions of the passage. It shows moreover a very scrupulous regard for Penelope's good name, making her exhibit a womanly gentleness and kind feeling, which is quite in accord with Eustathius' remark on ἐνθάδε (685):—τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἐπιεικῶς ἐρρέθη ὡς μὴ ἁπλῶς ἐπαρωμένης τῆς Πηνελόπης ἔσχατον τοῦτο δεῖπνον τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλοθι δειπνεῖν ἐθέλουσι. They may dine anywhere else, she is supposed to remark, but I hope they will not dine here any more. I am sorry to say, in reference to a lady, that I have no doubt whatever, but that Penelope here wishes for the suitors nothing less than what actually overtook them in the end—sudden

death. The perusal of the opening scene of Book XXIII. of the Odyssey ought to convince any impartial reader of the total absence of the modern humanitarian element from the feminine mind in the heroic ages, whenever real injuries have to be avenged.

I will now submit my own idea of the exact meaning of this much vexed passage :—'Or ere they go a-wooing or consort together elsewhere may they now here make their last and final meal.'

I treat the two participles with absolute impartiality, placing them fairly on an equal footing, not giving to one more or less than I give to the other. *μὴ μνηστεύσαντες* (lit. 'not having wooed'), 'without going wooing,' 'before they go wooing elsewhere' (*ἄλλοθι*), refers to future time, a usage that may be illustrated for the benefit of young scholars by such a sentence as this:—*ἰδὼν Νεάπολιν θάνοις*, 'see Naples and then die,' 'may you die after seeing Naples.' Here *ἰδών* refers to future time absolutely, but to past time relatively to *θάνοις*. Now if we desire to negative the participle we can only do so, in a wish-clause, by adding *μή*, as here, so that *μὴ ἰδών* = 'before you see,' 'without seeing.'

The two participles considered in relation to one another form a sort of *ὕστερον πρότερον*, for Penelope means to intimate that the suitors would find themselves sooner or later in one another's company in somebody else's house, ready to prosecute another suit there, unless their career should come to an abrupt termination here, as she prays it may. I confess I do not see how this rendering can fairly be disputed. The only real novelty in it is the making *ἄλλοθι* refer to both participles alike : but there is nothing so unusual in that as to constitute a serious objection. Both Greek and Latin, no less than our own language, allow such a position for a word, when the second participle as here is used to supplement the first. Possibly Eustathius, although his statement is not sufficiently explicit to prevent misunderstanding, was in possession of what I hold to be the right view : *τινὲς δὲ δύο τελείας ἐννοίας ἐνόησαν· μιὰν μὲν ἐλλειπτικὴν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ στοίχῳ, ἵνα λέγῃ μὴ μνηστεύσαντες εἶεν καὶ ἑξῆς* (Perhaps *τὸ μὴ μνηστεύσαντες*

*-ειαν* i.e. *μνηστεύσειαν*), *ἑτέραν δὲ τὸ ὕστατα δειπνήσειαν.* Eustathius in any case is not responsible for the common error of supplying *ἐμέ* as object after *μνηστεύσαντες*. There is no need for any object, but if one be required, let us try *ἄλλην*, 'another lady,' as *ἄλλοθι* suggests, and the meaning will be apparent.

It is hardly possible in a discussion of this passage to leave unnoticed the equally difficult but still very different:—

λ 613 *μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο.*

I do not think that even here *μή* is rightly separated from *τεχνησάμενος*; but for the sake of brevity without examining other views I will content myself with offering a translation of my own with just so much explanation as to make it intelligible. Literally then: 'Not having designed such another before, neither may he design such another again.' In effect, 'I hope this is the only one of the kind that he *has ever made* or *ever will make*.' I take *ἄλλο τι* with both verb and participle, just as in δ 684 *ἄλλοθι* is taken with both participles. The work, the *τελαμών*, is so *σμερδαλέος*, that it is devoutly to be wished that it is, and will always remain, unique.

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δ 831 *εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι, θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες αὐδῆς.*

If, undeterred by the mysterious awe that hedges hiatus licitus, of which the above line exhibits an excellent example, I venture to restore for the concluding half of the line:—

*θεοῦ τέ τε' ἔκλυες αὐδῆς,*

few will refuse to recognise the facility with which such an original would first become *θεοῦ τε ἔκλυες*, and next by an equally easy modification for the metre's sake the *θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες* of the vulgate, cf. B 272. *Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος* for *Χαρόπου τε ἄνακτος*, Γ 140 &c.

No doubt *τε'* (*τεο*) might have been preserved in the form *τευ*, and our MSS., if we are to follow with servility their authority on such a point, give warrant for that form only of the gen. of *τις* before a vowel. Hence we may write here *θεοῦ*

τέ τευ ἔκλυες. Should it be said however that τευ must have been retained, if the pronoun ever existed here at all, the argument, I submit, ought not to carry conviction, as it is one of that peculiar character that admits neither of substantiation nor of refutation. In any case the conjecture perhaps deserves to be mentioned for two reasons, firstly, because it strikingly exemplifies a corruption arising from a simple lipography, and secondly, because it indicates that even an apparently irrefragable instance of hiatus licitus may after all be a mere debasement, instead of a genuine survival, of the archaic original.

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ε 55 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφίκετο τηλόθ' ἐοῦσαν,
ι 543 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ', ἔνθα περ ἄλλαι,
ι 181 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ' ἐγγὺς ἐόντα.

The use of the article with νῆσος (χῶρος) here is commonly counted as one of the marks whereby the Odyssey is adjudged to be a more recent work than the Iliad. It would hardly be possible to adduce from the Homeric poems a more apparently unimpeachable example of the defining article of later Greek, v. Monro H. G. § 261, 3. It seems to me therefore quite worth while to examine these passages with a view to discover what amount of reliance can be placed upon them as evidence that the article so used is genuinely Homeric.

Now the word νῆσος is by no means a rare word in Homer, for it occurs some seventy times. The article is found with it only in six instances, two of which are given above. This number, six, is perhaps not inadequate for a budding usage still in the early struggling stage of its development. But there is one very peculiar feature about the combination. It is only found in the accusative case singular—rather a suspicious limitation, though the instances are but six altogether.—With regard to χῶρος indeed the case is somewhat different. The above instance is unique so far as the accusative is concerned; but there is one example of the genitive also φ 142 ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χώρου. This however only makes the curious deficiency noticed in the case of νῆσος still more marked, unless

we decide to athetize $\phi$ 142 on the ground that the suitors needed no explanation of *ἐπιδέξια*.

The stability of the article in our three passages is to a certain extent weakened by these considerations. It begins to wear the aspect of an intruder. Even so it would perhaps be a bold, though hardly an unwarrantable, proceeding to dislodge it at once and to attempt to replace it by mere conjecture. Fortunately we can dispense with guessing and—a much safer course—make appeal to Homer himself. Let us compare:—

λ 22 *ἤομεν, ὄφρ' ἐς χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ', ὃν φράσε Κίρκη.*
Δ 446 *οἱ δ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐς χῶρον ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο,* = Θ 60.

Here we see the original formula, fairly free from suspicion of corruption or modernisation. It may be noticed in λ 22 that *ὄφρα*—and there is no easy method of rejecting the services of this conjunction—presents an insurmountable metrical bar to the introduction of the article, while in Δ 446, Θ 60, the sense absolutely precludes the possibility of its appearance. Accordingly we may restore in ι 181 without much hesitation:—

*ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐς χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ' ἐγγὺς ἐόντα,*

nor indeed need we fear to extend the analogy to the other two passages, ε 55, ι 543. Clearly the trio must stand or fall together. Read then:—

*ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐς νῆσον* { *ἀφίκετο τηλόθ' ἐοῦσαν,* / *ἀφικόμεθ', ἔνθα περ ἄλλαι.*

So far as regards the usage of the verb (*ἀφικέσθαι*) and the preposition (*ἐς*) in combination with this particular noun, *νῆσον*, it may be useful to compare:—

κ 1 *Αἰαίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε* = κ 135
μ 127 *Θρινακίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφίξεαι· ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ*
μ 261 *αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοῦ ἐς ἀμύμονα νῆσον*
*ἱκόμεθ'.*

From these facts we get an insight into the general principle which governed the introduction of the defining article into the Homeric poems. The process may be regarded as coincident with the development of the later usage. Wherever with a delicate and loving regard for the credit of The Poet the

article could be introduced without detriment to the meaning and metre, there it insinuated itself and was ultimately allowed to stand. So the process went on of bringing Homer up to date. Now let us look at the remaining four instances of *τὴν νῆσον*. These must have an interest as tending either to confirm or invalidate the hypothesis which is really an inference from the facts already stated. We find then:—

*μ* 201 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν, αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα*
403 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη*
*ι* 146 *ἔνθ' οὔ τις τὴν νῆσον ἐσέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν·*
*μ* 276 *ἀλλὰ παρὲξ τὴν νῆσον ἐλαύνετε νῆα μέλαιναν.*

In the first two examples *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ νῆσον μὲν* seems a probable restoration, because *μέν* in this position as an emphasising particle without a corresponding *δέ* is quite Homeric. Instances are needless. In later times however this particular usage became unfamiliar and antiquated.

In the last two instances the remedy is not, so far as I am aware, determinable from parallel passages. I will content myself with suggesting that the *τὴν νῆσον* in *ι* 146 might have come from *πρὶν νῆσον*, and that in *μ* 276 from *τάχα νῆσον*. It is clear that either adverb could be readily dropped to make accommodation for the article. The adverb would retire socialiter, as Horace says, as an act of friendly politeness. Of course other suggestions might be made as to the exact word supplanted by *τήν*, but neither passage, I submit, affords support of the slightest value to the one-sided idea that the accusative case singular of *νῆσος* possessed in epic times a special and peculiar right to the services of the defining article, a right apparently not conceded to any other case of this substantive.

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*ε* 265 *ἐν δέ οἱ ἀσκὸν ἔθηκε θεὰ μέλανος οἴνοιο*
*τὸν ἕτερον, ἕτερον δ' ὕδατος μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ᾖα*
*κωρύκῳ.*

According to the not particularly valuable terminology of the ancient critics l. 266 is *ἀκέφαλος*, 'headless,' because it begins with a tribrach instead of a dactyl. This license is a necessary

one with such words as ζεφυρίη (ζ 119), ἐπίτονος (μ 423), Πριαμίδης &c., but ἕτερος involves no such necessity. Moreover we may observe it is not the head alone in this case that exhibits a quantitative defect but, to continue the metaphor, the shoulders also are similarly afflicted, so that the epithet ἀκέφαλος by no means reveals the full horror of the phenomenon. In plain words we have here not one tribrach only to commence the line but two consecutive ones, both wholly gratuitous.

I believe that Homer never could have propounded, and never did propound, such a metrical monstrosity as a verse at all. The staggering melody of:—

τὸν ἕτερον, ἕτερον δ'

appears to me to be nothing but the glossarial transformation of the primitive:—

τὸν μέν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον.

Let Homer himself vouch for his own usage. Our recognised text affords a fairly abundant crop of examples in point from both Iliad and Odyssey:—

Ε 145 τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο βαλὼν χαλκήρεϊ δουρί,
τὸν δ' ἕτερον ξίφεϊ μεγάλῳ κληῖδα παρ' ὦμον.

ν 67 τὴν μὲν φᾶρος ἔχουσαν ἐυπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,
τὴν δ' ἑτέρην χηλὸν πυκινὴν ἅμ' ὄπασσε κομίζειν.

Χ 149 ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, × × ×
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει ἐικυῖα χαλάζῃ.

ι 429 ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα φέρεσκε,
τὼ δ' ἑτέρω ἑκάτερθεν ἴτην σώοντες ἑταίρους.

κ 352 τάων ἡ μὲν ἔβαλλε θρόνοις ἔνι ῥήγεα καλά, × × ×
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προπάροιθε θρόνων ἐτίταινε τραπέζας.

μ 73 (101) οἱ δὲ δύο σκόπελοι ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει × × ×
τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον χθαμαλώτερον ὄψε' Ὀδυσσεῦ,

Μ 88 οἱ μὲν ἅμ' Ἕκτορ' ἴσαν × × ×
τῶν δ' ἑτέρων Πάρις ἦρχε καὶ Ἀλκάθοος.

Cf. Π 173 × × × 179.

Outside Homer reference may be made to Hesiod Op. 14, Mimnermus 2, 5 &c., but the quoted passages are surely sufficient to establish my position.

Now in later times this particular formula passed out of use. It is elliptical and any one, who was desirous to set it forth at full length, would of course write *ἕτερον* before or after *μέν*, producing:—

*τὸν ἕτερον μέν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον.*

Cf. Ξ 272 *χειρὶ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ μέν* × × ×, *τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ*. The next step is to delete *μέν* leaving *ἕτερον* in sole possession, and necessitating *ἕτερον δ'* instead of *τὸν δ' ἕτερον*.

So far, I believe, few will refuse to accompany me in this emendation; but I am less confident about gaining assent to the proposal to transpose *ὕδατος μέγαν*, which nevertheless I hold to be essential to the complete restoration of the line:—

*τὸν μέν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον μέγαν ὕδατος.*

Unfortunately some scholars seem anxious, as the later Greeks probably were here, to relieve Homer, wherever possible, from the imputation of having needlessly and heedlessly lengthened the *υ* of *ὕδωρ*. The most reasonable conclusion seems rather to be this, that the long quantity of the vowel is just as valid for the old epic as the short one, which ultimately prevailed.

It may of course be asked, why, if the above statement of the matter be correct, the other instances of *ὁ μέν—, ὁ δ' ἕτερος* were not tampered with and altered in a similar way. To a certain extent the question is an irrelevant one, for after all every passage is subject to its own special risks; but apart from these it may be well to note as a general rule, that the modernising process, guided by the intuitive vox populi rather than by any learned critical acumen, is likely to have been applied more freely to the text of the Odyssey than of the Iliad because of the greater popularity of the more romantic and adventurous poem. More particularly, as may be seen from the above examples, this is the only passage in which *τὸν μέν* is immediately followed by *τὸν δ' ἕτερον*. In every other instance what may be called the peculiar irregularity of the contrast is made less apparent by reason of the interposition of

several words, in one instance (μ 73 ff.) of a considerable paragraph. To the possible influence of ὕδατος I have already alluded.

*

ε 328 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπωρινὸς Βορέης φορέῃσιν ἀκάνθας
ἀμ πεδίον, πυκιναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται,
ὣς τὴν ἀμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

In the last line I propose to read instead of ἀμ πέλαγος, which is a needless assimilation to the ἀμ πεδίον of l. 327 marring both the metre and the picture, ἐν πελάγεσσ'. The phrase occurs five lines further on in the description of Ino :—

νῦν δ' ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἓξ ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

and again in the Hymns, XXXIII, 15 λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν, in both cases enjoying absolute metrical protection.

In the passage under discussion the thistle-down, or whatever it is that is denoted by ἀκάνθας (l. 328), is blown over the ground which it never touches or touches only at intervals; but the water-logged raft, half sunk in the waves while it is being carried this way and that by the winds, is never for a moment lifted above the surface of the sea. Therefore ἐν πελάγεσσι conveys a more realistic and true idea of the scene than ἀμ πέλαγος. In this connection Curtius' explanation (Gr. Et.[4] p. 278) of πέλαγος as the beating buffeting water (πλαγ-, πλήσσω, plango) is interesting.

The dat. plur. in -εσι and -εσσι was peculiarly liable to misapprehension and corruption when the ι was elided before a vowel. One instance I have already dealt with, δ 163 ἔπος for ἔπεσσ', if my idea be right. Perhaps it would not be out of place here to set down briefly an instance or two, where this particular error has upset the grammatical construction :—

E 329 αἶψα δὲ Τυδείδην μέθεπε κρατερώνυχας ἵππους.

Here Zenodotus read κρατερωνύχεσ' ἵπποις. Rightly, I think; for the objection to ἵπποις at the end of the line (pace Nauck) cannot be sustained, cf. N 426, Γ 274, δ 578 &c.

An interesting and tolerably convincing example is afforded by:—

Hes. Op. 479 *ἥμενος ἀμήσεις, ὀλίγον περὶ χειρὸς ἐέργων.*

Clearly nothing can be made of *χειρός*. *χείρεσ' ἐέργων* accounts for the tradition and gives a satisfactory sense. Hermann indeed suggested *χειρὶ ἐέργων* restoring the grammar at the expense of the metre. Believers in a long *ι* of the dat. may accept even this: at non ego credulus illis.

This same form *χείρεσ'* has produced *χεῖρας* more than once. Take the case of:—

O 228 *ἔπλετο, ὅττι πάροιθε νεμεσσηθεὶς ὑπόειξε*
*χεῖρας ἐμάς, ἐπεὶ οὔ κεν ἀνιδρωτί γ' ἐτελέσθη.*

There can be, I should imagine, little doubt as to the necessity for *χείρεσ' ἐμῆς* here, and I may take the opportunity to point out that the first line also seems to require a slight change to restore its integrity, thus:—

*ἔπλεθ', ὅτι προπάροιθε νεμεσσηθεὶς ὑπόειξε*
*χείρεσ' ἐμῆς·*

very similar is:—

*χ* 63 *οὐδέ κεν ὣς ἔτι χεῖρας ἐμὰς λήξαιμι φόνοιο,*

where *χείρεσ' ἐμῆς* is a manifest grammatical improvement, that can hardly be resisted, unless we are to suppose that *λήξαιμι* has superseded *παύσαιμι*, a possible but not very likely contingency, as it would be more natural to expect the converse change, cf. Hym. Dem. 351, 339.

Again in the common phrase *ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν* (*-εν*) (Γ 270, I 174, *α* 146, *δ* 216 &c.) we may at least suspect that *χείρεσ'* was once read, if only from Ω 303 *χερσὶν ὕδωρ ἐπιχεῦαι* and *δ* 213 *χερσὶ δ' ἐφ' ὕδωρ χευάντων*.

Neither do I think we ought to place implicit faith in the correctness of the accusatives *μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας* in the following passage:—

*β* 235 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας οὔ τι μεγαίρω*
*ἔρδειν ἔργα βίαια κακορραφίῃσι νόοιο·*

The dative *μνηστήρεσ' ἀγηνόρεσ'* seems almost, if not quite, essential to the sense, as otherwise the grudging would naturally be taken to apply to the persons addressed by the speaker, in this case the people of Ithaca. In the parallel passage γ 55 there is of course an intentional ambiguity.

I will conclude with a passage in which the grammatical construction cannot be very seriously objected to. It is:—

Α 51 *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς*
*βάλλ'.*

There are however considerations, setting aside the metrical gain, which lend support to the subjoined emendation:—

*αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοὺς βελέεσσ' ἐχεπεύκεσ' ἐφιεὶς*
*βάλλ'.*

The dominating verb in this sentence is, as its position proves, *βάλλ'*, not the participle *ἐφιείς*, with which compare the usage of the synonymous *τιτυσκόμενος* in Γ 80, χ 118. See also remark on *μεμνημένη* α 343. Moreover the tense of this verb, indicating, as it does, a repeated action, accords better with a plural than a singular noun.

The above evidence, I submit, is sufficient to establish a very strong probability that this particular misreading has been to a certain extent a real source of textual error.

T. L. AGAR.

# ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE *EUDEMIAN ETHICS*.

H i § 3 = 1234$^{b}$ 28 *καὶ ἐάν τις βούληται ποιῆσαι ὥστε μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς φίλους ποιῆσαι· οἱ γὰρ ἀληθινοὶ φίλοι οὐκ ἀδικοῦσιν.*

Susemihl's[1] comment is as follows:

"29. *ἀλλ' εἰς* corrupta, *ἀλλήλοις* Casaubonus, *ἀλλήλους* ci. Bk., commate post hoc verbum traiecto rec. Bu. Fr., *ἄλλους* eadem interpunctione proposita Spengelius || *ποιῆσαι* haud rectum, *ποιήσαι* Casaubonus, *ποιήσει* Spengelius, *δεῖν* ante *φίλους* inserendum esse ci. Fr."

I venture to think that, in order to obtain a satisfactory sense, we have only to substitute, for *ἀλλ' εἰς*, *ἄλις* in the sense of *ἄλις ἐστί*, and to separate this sentence from the sentence preceding by means of a full stop before *καὶ ἐάν τις*.

H i § 9 = 1235$^{a}$ 17 *τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐχθρὸν τῷ ὁμοίῳ· καὶ γὰρ*

*"κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει,"*

*καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρεφόμενα πολέμια ἀλλήλοις ζῷα.*

After the metrical quotations *ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖα, μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ, κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει*, the plain prose of

[1] To Professor Dr F. Susemihl's admirable edition I find myself indebted at every turn. It is a pleasure to me to have an opportunity of thanking him, however inadequately, for his complete survey of existing material, for his judicious handling of it, and for the many additions which he has made to our knowledge of a very difficult treatise.

καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν κτλ is strange : and the phrase αὗται αἱ ὑπολήψεις in the next sentence proves that the author of the *Eudemians* did not claim the sentiment as his own. Write καὶ "τἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρεφόμενα πολέμι' ἀλλήλοις ζοά," and you have forthwith a perfect trochaic.

H iii § 7 = 1238$^{b}$ 37 ἀγνοεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἐρῶν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προθυμίαν. διὸ εὑρηκέναι νεῖκος ὁ ἐρώμενος· τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον.

In this place the author of the *Eudemians*, echoing *Nicomacheans* Θ iv § 1 = 1157$^{a}$ 6, points out that the relations of ἐρῶν and ἐρώμενος are unstable in consequence of the diversity of their respective sentiments. So much is clear. But I am not sure that Fritzsche's substitution of αὐτοῖς for the τῆς of the MSS clears up the first of the sentences which I have extracted. Rather, I would keep τῆς, understanding with it ἡδονῆς, and in place of ἐπὶ τὴν προθυμίαν write ἐπὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ. The resultant οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ will mean "the pleasures consequent upon the attachment are not of the same denomination": that is to say, in the simpler language of the *Nicomacheans* l.c. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἥδονται οὗτοι, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ θεραπευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. But what are we to make of διὸ εὑρηκέναι νεῖκος ὁ ἐρώμενος· τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι? Fritzsche supplies in thought οἴεται or λέγει, puts τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι between inverted commas, and translates: "Itaque rixae vel querelae causam se [in amati verbis vel factis] invenire putat, et amasium vituperat talibus dictis: '*haec non amantis verba sunt*'—[hoc est, si me amares, bonis verbis utereris]." Bonitz, in his *spicilegium criticum* of 1858, suggests εἴρηκεν ἐκεῖνος. Finally, Susemihl, describing εὑρηκέναι νεῖκος as "fortasse corrupta," states that Casaubon proposed εὗρηκε νεῖκος. Now, although I cannot feel sure that εὗρηκεν might not stand in the sense of 'has hit upon the sentiment,' I incline to think that Bonitz is right in substituting for it the familiar εἴρηκεν. But εἴρηκεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐρώμενος· "τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι" does not satisfy me. If this is right, the purport of the sentence is that some

notable beloved has remarked, 'a lover would not say such things.' Yet the whole significance of the passage is that lover and beloved do not understand one another's position. How then should the beloved tell us what the lover will or will not say? Surely it is obvious to excise the article, to put the colon and the inverted commas before *ἐρώμενος* instead of after it, and thus to recover a complete senarius: "*ἐρώμενος τοιαῦτ' ἄν, οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι.*" And now it remains only to consider Bonitz's *ἐκεῖνος*. As AI = E, the correction is palaeographically easy, and in other respects it is sufficiently plausible. Nevertheless, it is worth while to ask whether anything can be made out of the traditional text *αινεικος*. Now Suidas and Eudocia, drawing no doubt from a common source, mention a poet of the old comedy called *Αἴνικος*: and his name is also preserved by Arcadius in his *de accentibus*, and by Theognostus, a grammarian of the ninth century, who wrote on prosody and thought it worth while to record that the second *ι* was long in quantity. It is true that Meineke (from whom I derive these facts) and others have supposed *Αἴνικος* to be a mistake for *Εὔνικος*, and that the name is an odd one[1]: but I think that, in any case, the MSS of the *Eudemian ethics* must be reckoned amongst the authorities in its favour. In fine, I would write: *ἀγνοεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἐρῶν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ. διὸ εἴρηκεν Αἴνικος· "ἐρώμενος τοιαῦτ' ἄν, οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι." οἳ δὲ νομίζουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον.*

H vi § 4 = 1240ª 25 *ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ᾧ τὸ εἶναι βούλεται δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ μὴ δι' αὑτόν, κἂν εἰ μὴ διανέμων τἀγαθά, μὴ τῷ τὸ εἶναι τούτῳ ἂν δόξειε μάλιστα φιλεῖν.*

There is something to be said for Spengel's proposal to substitute *τοῦτον* for *τούτῳ*. But I cannot allow that the sense required is—"qui eum cuius mortui bona dividere potest, salvum cupit, hunc amare videtur": nor do I think that the substitution, for *μὴ τῷ τὸ εἶναι*, of *τῷ μὴ εἶναι* would give this meaning. What is wanted is, I think, *κἂν εἰ μὴ διανέμων τἀγαθά, μή τοι τὸ εἶναί γ', οὗτος ἂν δόξειε μάλιστα φιλεῖν*:

[1] Dr Postgate suggests that *Αἴνικος* might stand for *Ἀείνικος*.

that is to say, 'if A, not for his own sake but for B's, wishes B to exist,—even though he does not bestow goods upon B, still less existence—A would seem most certainly to love B.'

H x § 5 = 1242ª 22, *ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ μόνον πολιτικὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκονομικὸν ζῷον, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τἆλλά ποτε συνδυάζεται καὶ τῷ τυχόντι καὶ θήλει καὶ ἄρρενι ἀλλ' αἱ διὰ δύμον αὐλικόν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνικὸν ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πρὸς οὓς φύσει συγγένεια ἐστίν· καὶ κοινωνία τοίνυν καὶ δίκαιόν τι, καὶ εἰ μὴ πόλις εἴη· οἰκία δ' ἐστί τις φιλία.*

'Man is not only a *πολιτικὸν ζῷον*, but also an *οἰκονομικόν*; not only *ποτὲ συνδυάζεται*, but is also a *κοινωνικόν*, associating with natural relations: now a *κοινωνία* is a sort of *δίκαιον*, and an *οἰκία* is a sort of *φιλία*: whence it appears that, as before asserted at 1242ª 20, *δίκαιον* and *φιλία* are intimately related.' That this is the general sense of the passage, is clear. But it is no less clear that certain words in the very centre of my extract stand in need of correction, and correction has been attempted in several ways. Thus Bussemaker, Fritzsche, and Susemihl, bracket *καὶ* before *θήλει*: and for the *ἀλλ' αἱ διὰ δύμον* (*δύμων* Mᵇ) of the MSS, Bussemaker conjectures *ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μοναυλικόν*, Spengel (who questions *ποτέ* also) *ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ οὐ μοναυλικόν*, Fritzsche with the help of Osann *ἄλλοτε δ' ἰδιάζει μοναυλικόν*, while Susemihl, condemning the words as corrupt, makes no attempt to heal them. Accepting from my predecessors *μοναυλικόν*, I propose in place of *τἆλλα* to write *τἄλλ' ἅ*, and for *ἀλλ' αἱ διὰ δύ* to write *ἅμα ἰδίᾳ αὖ*. We shall then have—*καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τἄλλ' ἅ ποτε συνδυάζεται καὶ τῷ τυχόντι καὶ θήλει καὶ ἄρρενι ἅμα ἰδίᾳ αὖ μοναυλικόν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνικὸν ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πρὸς οὓς φύσει συγγένεια ἐστίν.* Palaeographically the changes are easy: for the substitution of M for ΛΛ and of A for Δ, and the division of aggregates of letters, are devices recognized by all critics, and the meaning obtained is, I think, satisfactory: 'Man is one of those animals which upon occasion take to themselves casual partners: nevertheless, unlike the rest of them, he is at the same time (*ἅμα*), apart from such partnerships

(*ἰδίᾳ*), on the other hand (*αὖ*), not solitary, but sociable, the society in question being his family in the extended sense of the term.' Or, in other words, 'Man and some other animals take to themselves casual and temporary partners: but whereas the rest of the *συνδυαστικά* are, apart from the *συνδυασμός*, *μοναυλικά*, man, apart from the *συνδυασμός*, is not *μοναυλικόν*, but *κοινωνικόν*.' I may add that I see no need to bracket the *καὶ* ('both') which stands before *θήλει*. I understand that the *καὶ* which precedes *τῷ τυχόντι* connects *ποτὲ* with that phrase.

H x § 11 = 1242$^{b}$ 11 *καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων κοινωνιῶν οὕτω συμβαίνει. ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τοῦ ἴσου μετέχουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ λόγῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσον ἀριθμῷ εἰσήνεγκον ἀργύριον, ἴσον καὶ τῷ ἴσῳ ἀριθμῷ διαλαμβάνουσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσον, ἀνάλογον.*

'And so it is with partnerships in general: the dividends are equal, sometimes in quantity, sometimes in proportion: that is to say, if the amounts subscribed were equal, the dividends are equal in quantity; if the amounts subscribed were unequal, the dividends are in proportion.' Such is the meaning of the passage regarded as a whole. But what are we to make of the worse than meaningless phrase *τῷ ἴσῳ*, which perforce I have ignored? Without it, the words *ἴσον ἀριθμῷ διαλαμβάνουσιν* in the apodosis answer exactly to the words *εἰ ἴσον ἀριθμῷ εἰσήνεγκον* in the protasis. But we must not rest content with simple excision: for the *καὶ* which follows *ἴσον*, if immediately followed by *ἀριθμῷ*, would have no meaning. Indeed it would seem that its presence is justifiable only on the supposition that *τῷ ἴσῳ* represents an accusative, governed by *διαλαμβάνουσιν*, and answering to the *ἀργύριον* of the protasis. In fact, we want some such sentence as *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσον ἀριθμῷ εἰσήνεγκον ἀργύριον, ἴσον καὶ <τὸ προσιὸν> ἀριθμῷ διαλαμβάνουσιν.* Τὸ *προσιόν* is however no more than a stopgap. Let us inquire whether the tradition of the MSS suggests any equivalent. Rejecting the terminations of the article and the adjective as results of assimilation, and adding tentatively ON, the regular ending of the accusative

masculine or neuter, we shall have τ-ικον. But ικ is notoriously equivalent to κ: and τοκον gives precisely the meaning which we require. Read then *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσον ἀριθμῷ εἰσήνεγκον ἀργύριον, ἴσον καὶ τόκον ἀριθμῷ διαλαμβάνουσιν.* With such surroundings, the descent from τοκον, through το ικον, to τωι ικωι, would be easy enough.

H x §§ 25—27 = 1243ᵃ 35—1243ᵇ 9.

At § 21 = 1243ᵃ 14 the author asks—'In settling the rights and the wrongs of a friendship, are we to look to the amount of the service done or to its value to the recipient?' In §§ 22, 23 this question is amplified and illustrated. In § 24 the author reverts to the distinction already drawn in § 17 between two sorts of friendship: (1) *ἡ κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον* or *ἡ πολιτική*, (2) *ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετήν* or *ἡ ἠθική*. Then at § 25 he proceeds to speak of 'persons who begin as friends on the basis of virtue, but, when some private interest is in the way (*ὅταν ἄντικρυς ᾖ τι τῶν ἰδίων*), are found to be friends on a different footing. For, the generality of people seek honour, and therefore the friendship of honour, only as a luxury.' At this point I pause in my paraphrase. According to Susemihl, Rieckher condemns the words *ὅταν δ' ἄντικρυς ᾖ τι τῶν ἰδίων* as corrupt. I think that he is most certainly right: and, in place of *ἄντικρυς ᾖ*, I would propose *ἀντικρούσῃ*, comparing *rhetoric* B ii § 9 = 1379ᵃ 11 *ἐάν τε οὖν κατ' εὐθυωρίαν ὁτιοῦν ἀντικρούσῃ τις, οἷον τῷ διψῶντι πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν.* With this alteration, the sentence before us will mean—'But when some private interest crosses them, or stands in the way, it becomes evident that they are not friends of this sort.' And now I resume my paraphrase at § 26: 'Thus it is plain how we are to decide in such cases. If the friendship is an ethical friendship or friendship of virtue, we must look to the intention, to see whether it is equal on the two sides, and more than this must not be expected by the one from the other. If again the friendship is a civic friendship or friendship of utility, we must consider what would have been reasonable lines for an agreement.' And now follow four or five lines which stand in need of careful examination:

*ἂν δ' ὃ μὲν φῇ ὧδε ὃ δὲ ἐκείνως, οὐ καλὸν μὲν ἀντιποιῆσαι, δέον τοὺς καλοὺς λέγειν λόγους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θατέρου, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ διείποντο ὡς ἠθικῶς, δεῖ κρίνειν τίνα, μηδ' ὑποκρινόμενον μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐξαπατᾶν. ὥστε δεῖ στέργειν αὐτὸν τὴν τύχην.* Susemihl, whose text I have transcribed, appends the following critical notes: "6. *ἀντιποιήσασθαι* ci. Rieckher || *λόγους ὁμοίως* [δὲ] ci. Spengelius, certe vix sana sunt verba || 7. *ἐπεὶ* $P^bD^c$, *ἐπειδὴ* $\Pi^2$ et editores (fors. recte) || *ἠθικῶς* haud integrum, *ἠθικοί* ci. Fr., <*ἐχρῆν.*> *ἠθικῶς* ci. Spengelius || 8. *τίνα* Fr., *τινὰ* cet. || *ὑποκρινόμενον μηδέτερον* Sylburgius, *ὑποκρινόμενος μηδέτερος* $\Pi^2$, *ὑποκρινάμενος μηδ' ἕτερος* $P^b$." Fritzsche's version is hopelessly wrong, and can be of no use except as a warning. Now, (1) no one, not even the man who refuses to repay his debt, would venture to say that repayment is not honorable; whence I conclude that *δέον* should go with *ἀντιποιῆσαι* rather than with the words which follow: (2) the critics are manifestly right in demurring to *ὡς ἠθικῶς*; and accordingly I propose to separate them by a comma, at the same time adding the article *τὸ* after *διείποντο* and expunging the comma after *ἠθικῶς*: (3) where Fritzsche, followed by Susemihl, writes *τίνα* as an interrogative, I would restore the traditional *τινά*, indefinite. We shall then have *ἂν δ' ὃ μὲν φῇ ὧδε ὃ δὲ ἐκείνως, οὐ καλὸν μὲν ἀντιποιῆσαι δέον τοὺς καλοὺς λέγειν λόγους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θατέρου, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ διείποντο <τὸ> ὡς, ἠθικῶς δεῖ κρίνειν τινά, μηδ' ὑποκρινόμενον μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐξαπατᾶν. ὥστε δεῖ στέργειν αὐτὸν τὴν τύχην*: 'but if one takes the one line, the other, the other,—the one, "it is not honorable for the representatives of honour to preach when they ought to repay", and the other, on the other part, in like manner,—the right thing is, if only because they omitted in the first instance to agree upon the character of the intimacy, that some one should arbitrate on moral grounds, neither of the two seeking to influence the referee by declamatory representations: so the sufferer, [the man who declares for *πολιτικὴ φιλία*,] must put up with his luck.' I think that *ἀλλά* in $1243^b$ 7 emphasizes the author's statement of his own principle, *ἐπεὶ οὐ διείποντο τὸ ὡς*. Compare $1244^a$ 9, where I see no justification for the

assumption of a lacuna. For τὸ ὥς = τὸ πῶς, see μχ 847ª 27, quoted in the Berlin Index.

H x §§ 30—34 = 1243ᵇ 15—36.

'In unequal friendships,' we read at § 30, 'many complaints arise, and it is not easy to discover the rule of right. For it is difficult to find one standard by which to measure diverse commodities. We have an instance of this in the relations of lovers. The lover seeks the beloved as the one agreeable person, that he may live in his society: the beloved sometimes seeks the lover as one who is useful to him. But when the lover's passion wanes, both change: the beloved is no longer agreeable, the lover no longer useful. And then they begin to calculate παντί τινος, [whatever those words may mean,] and they quarrel, as Python and Pammenes did, like master and pupil generally,—you cannot measure learning and money by one standard,—like Herodicus the physician and his grudging patient, or like the harper and the king.' At this point I pause in my paraphrase that I may comment upon certain details of the text. In line 15, the first line of § 30, the MSS give τοῖς: Bonitz reads ταῖς. I suppose that we should all of us have written ταῖς: but τοῖς is plainly admissible, and in cases of doubt, it is obvious to prefer the tradition. In line 17, for the τῶ (circumflexed) of the MSS, I would substitute, not τὸ with Fritzsche, nor τὰ with Bussemaker, but τὼ (dual). In line 18 Spengel and Susemihl bracket τὸν. I see no reason for this: for surely the ἐρώμενος is to the ἐρῶν, not merely ἡδύς, but ὁ ἡδύς, the one supremely agreeable person. In line 20, for the unmeaning παντί τινος, it is obvious to read τί ἀντὶ τίνος, τί and τίνος being both of them interrogative. 'When the beloved ceases to be agreeable to the lover, and the lover to be useful to the beloved, they begin to calculate the quid pro quo, and a quarrel arises.' For the phrase τί ἀντὶ τίνος, compare *Nicomachean ethics* Θ xiii § 6 = 1162ᵇ 27 καθ' ὁμολογίαν τί ἀντὶ τίνος. That this simple correction has escaped the critics is the more surprizing, since, according to Susemihl, ἀντὶ τίνος is added by a recent hand in

the margin of $P^b$. I am sorry to say that I cannot find out anything about Python and Pammenes: but surely they were *διδάσκαλος* and *μαθητής*. For, though Fritzsche and Susemihl give *ὡς* before *διδάσκαλος*, the MSS have *ὅλως*, and this reading affords a satisfactory sense.

I now continue my paraphrase at line 27 *ὅμως δὲ φανερὸν κτλ.* 'Nevertheless it is plain how we are to proceed. Here too we are to measure by one standard, *ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅρῳ, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ*: that is to say, we must measure by proportion, as we do in the civic association. For how can a cobbler deal with a farmer, unless their wares are equalized by proportion?' And then follows an illustration to which I shall presently return. Meanwhile I have something to say about the words *ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅρῳ, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ*. The general significance of the sentence is clear enough. The author means that, where the two persons exchange unlike wares, for example, pleasure and service, there must be a standard of measurement, but this standard will be, not a number, but a ratio. In other words, which I borrow from *Nicomachean ethics* Θ vii § 3 = 1158$^b$ 29—33, whereas, when two persons exchange like services or like pleasures, the rule of friendship is quantitative equality (*τὸ κατὰ ποσόν*), when two persons exchange unlike services, or unlike pleasures, or service for pleasure, the rule of friendship is proportionate equality (*τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν*). Now in the expression of this antithesis, the proper correlative to *λόγῳ* 'ratio' is, not *ὅρῳ*, but *ἀριθμῷ*. Compare H x § 11 = 1242$^b$ 12 *ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τοῦ ἴσου μετέχουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ λόγῳ. politics* E 1. 1301$^b$ 29 *ἔστι δὲ διττὸν τὸ ἴσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστίν. politics* Z 2. 1317$^b$ 3 *καὶ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικὸν τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἐστὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν.* And on general grounds, *ὅρῳ*, because vague,—so vague that a *λόγος* might itself be regarded as a *ὅρος*,—is manifestly less suitable than *ἀριθμῷ*. Now T. L. Heath in his *Diophantus of Alexandria*, pp. 57 ff. and 160, shows that the so called sigma, which, with breathing prefixed and endings superposed, represents *ἀριθμός* and its cases, is not a final sigma, but a symbol which "might very well be a corruption, after combination, of the two first letters of the word, Alpha and Rho": and

in Gardthausen's *Griechische Palaeographie* Plate III, he finds, taken from a papyrus of A.D. 154, precisely such a combination. It looks like a slanted *o* with an opening at the top, united to a *ρ*, with an opening in the back of the loop. Ἀριθμός, abbreviated into ἀρ°, with an *αρ* thus formed, would hardly, but for its breathing, be distinguishable from ὅρος: and even when the abbreviation had been conventionalized into a symbol, confusion between the two words would be very easy. Now, according to Susemihl, while $P^b$ gives *οὐ χορῶ* with a *χ*, $M^b$, though it aspirates the initial of *ὅρω*, keeps the *κ* in *οὐκ*. Would it not seem that this peculiarity of $M^b$ is a survival of the original reading? I am inclined to think that in H ix 5 = 1241$^b$ 36 *τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅρῳ μετρεῖται, ὅρῳ* has similarly taken the place of *ἀριθμῷ*: but in that passage, the vaguer word, 'term' or 'standard,' is not, as I think it here, altogether impossible.

I now return to 1243$^b$ 32 *τοῖς δὲ μὴ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν τὸ ἀνάλογον μέτρον, οἷον εἰ ὃ μὲν σοφίαν δοῦναι ἐγκαλεῖ ὃ δ' ἐκείνῳ ἀργύριον, τῇ σοφίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλούσιον, εἶτα τί δοθὲν πρὸς ἑκάτερον. εἰ γὰρ ὃ μὲν τοῦ ἐλάττονος ἥμισυ ἔδωκεν, ὃ δὲ τοῦ μείζονος μὴ πολλοστὸν μέρος, δῆλον ὅτι οὗτος ἀδικεῖ.* Here Bonitz proposes to substitute *τί σοφία* for *τῇ σοφίᾳ*, and to place notes of interrogation after *πλούσιον* and *ἑκάτερον*: but seemingly he finds no further difficulty in the passage. Spengel, who, whether he attempts an emendation or not, makes it his business to note corruptions, is silent. On *τῇ σοφίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλούσιον*, Fritzsche comments: "Explica sic: 'sapientiae ad divitias scil. ratio, analogia quaerenda est'... Tu cf. E. N. IX 1, 7 *οὐ γὰρ πρὸς χρήματα ἡ ἀξία τῆς φιλοσοφίας μετρεῖται, τιμή τ' ἰσόρροπος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο.*" Apparently none of the three has remarked that *τὸ πλούσιον* in the sense of *τὰ χρήματα* is very strange. Now in Xenophon's *memorabilia* I vi 11 we have the words *οὐδένα γοῦν τῆς συνουσίας ἀργύριον πράττει*, "you do not require a fee from anyone": and on the strength of it, I propose to write *τῆς σοφίας* in place of *τῇ σοφίᾳ*, and to connect the phrase thus altered with *ἀργύριον*. Next, I note that if we might borrow from line 20 the words *τί ἀντὶ τίνος*, and substitute them for *πλούσιον εἶτα*

*τί δοθέν*, we should have a very satisfactory sense: 'where the persons are diverse, proportion is the measure—for example, the claim of the one is that he gave wisdom, and that of the other, that he paid a fee for it—proportion, I repeat, is the measure to decide the quid pro quo payable in respect of either.' Let us then inquire whether the words *πλούσιον, εἶτα τί δοθὲν* will give us an intelligible equivalent for *τί ἀντὶ τίνος*. We have already seen that Π may represent ΤΙ: Λ and Δ are notoriously equivalent: ΙΟ might conceivably represent Ω: there is nothing alarming in the supposition that Ι has dropped out before *τί δοθέν*. If we make these changes we get *τί δοὺς ὠνεῖται τί δοθέν*; that is to say, 'what amount does a man give to purchase what return': and the whole sentence, exclusive of the illustration, will mean—'where the persons are diverse, proportion is the measure to decide in respect of either what he gives to purchase what commodity,' or as we say, 'to purchase a given commodity.' In short, I would write: *τοῖς δὲ μὴ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν τὸ ἀνάλογον μέτρον—οἷον εἰ ὃ μὲν σοφίαν δοῦναι ἐγκαλεῖ ὃ δ' ἐκείνῳ ἀργύριον τῆς σοφίας—πρὸς τὸ τί δοὺς ὠνεῖται τί δοθὲν πρὸς ἑκάτερον.*

H xii § 2 = 1244$^{b}$ 7 *μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο φανερὸν ἐπὶ θεοῦ. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐδενὸς προσδεόμενος οὐδὲ φίλου δεήσεται, οὐδ' ἔσται αὐτῷ οὔτε μηθὲν δεσπότου. ὥστε καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἥκιστα δεήσεται φίλου, ἀλλ' ἢ καθ' ὅσον ἀδύνατον εἶναι αὐτάρκη. ἀνάγκη ἄρα ἐλαχίστους εἶναι φίλους τῷ ἄριστα ζῶντι, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐλάττους γίνεσθαι, κτλ.*

At the beginning of this twelfth chapter, 1244$^{b}$ 1, the author proposes to investigate the mutual relations of *αὐτάρκεια* and *φιλία*. 'It may be doubted,' he says, 'whether one who is *αὐτάρκης* will have a friend. Why should he want one? He needs neither useful friends, nor agreeable friends, nor companionship. His own society is sufficient for him. This is plain enough, in the case of God: for, manifestly, as he needs nothing, he will not need a friend: nor will he have one.' Then come the words *οὔτε μηθὲν δεσπότου*. After which the text proceeds: 'Consequently, the man who is most completely

happy will have no need of a friend, except in so far as *αὐτάρκεια* is unattainable. Hence the man who lives the best life will have fewest friends, and the number will perpetually dwindle.' As a whole, the passage is intelligible: and the earlier part of the one suspicious sentence, *δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐδενὸς προσδεόμενος οὐδὲ φίλου δεήσεται, οὐδ' ἔσται αὐτῷ*, is justified by the opening lines of the chapter, where the doubt is raised whether the *αὐτάρκης*, who cannot want a friend, will have one. But what are we to make of the mysterious adjunct, *οὔτε μηθὲν δεσπότου*? According to Susemihl, who pronounces these words corrupt, Casaubon proposed, for *αὐτῷ οὔτε μηθὲν δεσπότου*, to substitute *αὐτοῦ γε μηθὲν δεομένου*. Fritzsche conjectures *ἅτε μηθενὸς δεομένῳ* or *ἅτε μηθενὸς ὁμοίου*. That Casaubon's suggestion and the former of Fritzsche's alternatives give a satisfactory meaning, is clear: but neither has much to recommend it palaeographically. Now ΟΥ and ΕΙ, Τ and Γ, C and O, are recognised equivalents. Further, it is conceivable that Π, which may certainly stand for ΤΙ, should represent ΙΤ. Making these changes, we obtain *εἴ γε μηθὲν δέοιτό του*. The sentence *δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐδενὸς προσδεόμενος οὐδὲ φίλου δεήσεται, οὐδ' ἔσται αὐτῷ, εἴ γε μηθὲν δέοιτό του* will then mean: 'for, manifestly, as he needs nothing, he will not need a friend: and, if we are to suppose that he does not need one, neither will he have one.' In case the phrase *μηδὲν δεῖσθαί τινος* should be questioned, I may quote *Nicomachean ethics* I ix § 4 = 1169$^{b}$ 26 *ἡδὺς γὰρ ὁ βίος ὢν οὐδὲν δεῖται ἐπεισάκτου ἡδονῆς*. In case any one should have doubts about the use of the optative in the protasis and the future indicative in the apodosis, it will suffice to quote from this very chapter xii § 1 = 1244$^{b}$ 2 *πότερον, εἴ τις εἴη κατὰ πάντα αὐτάρκης, ἔσται τούτῳ * * φίλος*, from *Nicomachean ethics* E v § 11 = 1133$^{a}$ 27 *εἰ γὰρ μηθὲν δέοιντο ἢ μὴ ὁμοίως, ἢ οὐκ ἔσται ἀλλαγὴ ἢ οὐκ ἡ αὐτή*, from *metaphysics* Z 15. 1040$^{a}$ 12 *οἷον εἴ τις σὲ ὁρίσαιτο, ζῷον ἐρεῖ ἰσχνὸν ἢ λευκὸν ἢ ἕτερόν τι ὃ καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπάρξει*, and from Plato *Charmides* 154 D *Οὗτος μέντοι, ἔφη, εἰ ἐθέλοι ἀποδῦναι, δόξει σοι ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι*.

HENRY JACKSON.

23 *March* 1898.

# ON THE COMPOSITION OF SOME GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

## III. The Venetian Homer.

This celebrated book has for the last two hundred years received the attention it deserved. The earlier enquirers, Vettori, Küster, Bongiovanni, Villoison, are enumerated in the preface to Dindorf's edition of the scholia (Oxford 1875 I. p. xxiv sq.). Of modern collations and descriptions it would be difficult to give a complete list. The works of which it is still needful to take account are La Roche *Text, Zeichen und Scholien des berühmten Codex Venetus zur Ilias*, Wiesbaden 1862, Wachsmuth *Ueber die Zeichen und einige andere Eigenthümlichkeiten des Codex Venetus zur Ilias*, Rheinisches Museum N.F. XVIII. (1863) p. 178 sq., O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* 1873, p. 94 sqq. (the collation and description of the Venetus A was contributed by Studemund and de Boor), Dindorf's preface already mentioned, and in especial Ludwich *Aristarchs Homerkritik* I. p. 89 sq., and Georg Wissowa *Ueber die Proklos-Excerpte im Codex Venetus A der Ilias*, Hermes 1884 p. 198 sq. Some of these studies are more concerned with the text, others with the scholia. There is perhaps yet room for a technical view of the book as a whole.

No complete facsimile has been undertaken; separate leaves may be found in Dindorf l.c. I. pp. 156, 356 (ff. 48 r. and 132 v.), and in Wattenbach and von Velsen *Exempla codicum graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum*, plates XXXII, XXXIII (ff. 15 v., 34 r.).

The MS. numbered 454 in Zanetti's catalogue of the Library of St Mark (p. 244) is a vellum book of which the pages

measure 393 × 280 mm. It possesses 327 pages, not counting modern flyleaves. The sheets are arranged in gathers of 4, and according to the usual Eastern fashion ruled upon the hair-side, while the flesh-side of each pair of sheets is turned outward. Each leaf is ruled for 25 lines of text, and spaces on the lateral and lower margin are ruled for the reception of scholia. Between these and the text, and also between them and the edge of the page, blank unruled spaces are left.

The quires were originally signed on the first sheet in the outer bottom corner, but the first certain signature that is left occurs on f. 156 r. $\overline{\text{ιθ}}$. Working back from this we establish the state of the book as follows:

Quire

(*a*) ff. *a* + 1—11. Signature gone. ff. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9 are originals, the rest XVIth century.

(1) ff. 12—19 no signature. A 1—401.

(2) ff. 20—27 no traces of signature. A 402—B 186.

(3) ff. 28—35. id. B 187—592.

(4) ff. 36—43. id. B 593—Γ 101.

(5) ff. 44—51. id. Γ 102—Δ 33.

(6) ff. 52—59. id. Δ 34—434.

(7) ff. 60—67. id. Δ 435—E 285.

(8) ff. 68—75. id. E 286—685. The three middle sheets (E 336—636) have fallen out and are restored s. XVI.

(9) ff. 76—83. id. E 686—Z 179.

(10) ff. 84—91. id. Z 180—H 50.

(11) ff. 92—99. H 51—455. Vestiges of the upper part of the signature ΙΑ.

(12) ff. 100—107. H 456—Θ 373. No trace of signature.

(13) ff. 108—115. Θ 374—I 209. id.

(14) ff. 116—123. I 210—613. id.

(15) ff. 124—131. id. I 614—K 301.

(16) ff. 132—139. id. K 302—Λ 125.

(17) ff. 140—147. id. Λ 126—525.

(18) ff. 148—155. Vestiges of the signature ΙΗ. Λ 526—M 75.

(19) ff. 156—163. $\overline{\text{ιθ}}$. M 76—471.

(20) ff. 164—171. No trace of signature. N 1—406.

(21) ff. 172—179. Slight traces of κδ. N 407—813.

(22) ff. 180—187. $\overline{\text{κβ}}$. N 814—Ξ 378.

(23) ff. 188—195. $\overline{\text{κγ}}$. Ξ 379—O 250.

(24) ff. 196—203. $\overline{\text{κδ}}$. O 251—651.

(25) ff. 204—211. No trace of signature. O 652—Π 300.

(26) ff. 212—219. id. Π 301—705.

(27) ff. 220—227. id. Π 706—P 226.

(28) ff. 228—235. id. P 227—628. The three inner sheets (P 277—577) have fallen out and are restored s. XVI.

(29) ff. 236—243. id. P 629—Σ 252. The former leaf of the third sheet (P 729—761) is restored s. XVI, the flap of the new leaf projects round the inner edge of f. 241. The whole quire has been recomposed, for the string-holes in the hinge of the middle sheet, ff. 239, 240, are empty.

(30) ff. 244—251 (Σ 253—T 25). No trace of signature.

(31) ff. 252—259 (T 26—424). Slight traces of λδ. The two inner sheets, ff. 254—7 (T 126—326) have fallen out and are restored s. XVI.

(32) ff. 260—267. λβ. Υ 1—405.

(33) ff. 268—275. No trace of signature. Υ 406—Φ 300.

(34) ff. 276—283. λδ partly cut away. Φ 301—X 82.

(35) ff. 284—291. λε. X 83—485.

(36) ff. 292—299. No trace of signature. X 486—Ψ 359.

(37) ff. 300—307. id. Ψ 360—758.

(38) ff. 308—315. λη. Ψ 759—Ω 279.

(39) ff. 316—323. λ ||||| (θ is cut away). Ω 279—654. The middle sheet, ff. 319, 320 (Ω 405—504), has fallen out and been supplied s. XVI.

(40) ff. 324—327. Ω 655—804. No trace of signature. Two sheets. The text ends on f. 326 v. 327 r. is utilised for Hadrian's epigram (Anth. Pal. IX. 387), the verso is blank.

A signature runs through all the quires from 1 to 40, including the inserted leaves, of the late type *a* 1, *a* 2, *a* 3 etc. Ff. 1—11 are numbered continuously in Arabic figures by a late hand, probably the same. There is nothing abnormal in these quires from 1 down to 40. The missing sheets and leaves are

supplied by sheets and leaves of white levigated vellum, the writing on which is clearly in a XVIth century hand (so Studemund thought ap. Wissowa l.c. p. 201). These restorations were apparently made after the book came to Venice, and coincide with the re-signing, the insertion of blank leaves into the prolegomena, the numbering of the prolegomena, and apparently the trimming and gilding of the edges.

The element of uncertainty in this part of the discussion of the MS. is presented by the leaves that precede quire *a*. Their contents (Proclus' prose summaries of the poems of the Cycle) have given them an interest in the eyes of scholars, and their arrangement and relation has been the subject of much discussion. The exhaustive article of Georg Wissowa, Hermes 1884, p. 198 sq., summarizes earlier literature, and takes into account all the conditions that can determine a restoration. Some of these are derived from the subject-matter, and the evidence of other MSS., and therefore exceed my province. I will confine myself to restating the purely palaeographical data. The leaves are

*a*. late vellum, blank; not numbered.
1. ancient, flesh-recto, hair-verso.
2 and 3. late, blank.
4. ancient, hair-recto, flesh-verso.
5. late, blank.
6. ancient, flesh-recto.
7. late, blank.
8. ancient, hair-recto, flesh-verso.
9. ancient, hair-recto, flesh-verso.
10, 11. late, blank.

Of these 1 and 8 form a sheet: the hinge is unbroken. As the outer-side is flesh, the sheet must have been either the 1st or the 3rd of a quire of 4; and, seeing that the subject commences on f. 1 recto, and ends on f. 8 recto, f. 8 verso being blank, and considering also the fact (to which some weight is due) that the restorer used this sheet as an outside sheet in which to wrap ff. 2—7, we may reasonably conclude that the sheet was the first of the quire. The other ancient leaves,

4 and 6, are mounted on late vellum; they have each broken away from the other half of their respective sheets. No inference can therefore be drawn from their present position. From the fact however that the recto of f. 4 is the hair-side it follows that f. 4 may have been the 2nd, 4th, or 6th leaf of the gather; the position therefore given by the restorer to f. 4 is possible. F. 6 on the other hand, having a flesh recto and a hair verso, must have been the 3rd, 5th, or 7th leaf of the gather, and its present position is impossible. Considering now 4 and 6 together, it is evident that they may have stood to each other in a variety of relations. On the ground of context, Wissowa holds that f. 6 immediately preceded f. 4. This is probable, but the palaeographical evidence alone does not admit of such a stringent conclusion.

The odd f. 9 remains: this also is mounted. Its position and indeed significance are of the obscurest. The technical data are that its recto is the hair-side, so that it cannot have begun a new quire. But, as Wissowa acutely notices, it is ruled on a different plan to ff. 1, 4, 6, 8; the page is divided into one broad column and two narrow, as if to receive a text and scholia (the ruling of the Homer text is however different). Wissowa sees in this leaf the survivor of an entire new gather —a considerable supposition. The recto is entirely blank, on the verso one, the outer, narrow column is filled with a list of Homeric commentators; the other two are empty. Graphically we cannot guess at the possible connection of this leaf with the preceding quire; and it is to be noticed that the evidence of signatures, which might have given a clue to the extent of this prefatory matter, is wanting, since the signing of the body of the book began with the text of the Iliad.

The blank spaces on these leaves are partly covered by primitive paintings of scenes from the Iliad. Their age, as Wissowa notes, is fixed on one side by the circumstance that one picture (on f. 4 v.) covers a hand of the XIIIth century that had written some lines from Heliodorus on the blank vellum. From the want of sequence between the subjects of the paintings it would seem that there must at one time have been more of them, and that therefore they were inserted before the

original gather or gathers had burst. There must have been something singular about this preface, which left so many blanks for first a scribe and then an illustrator to fill. The circumstances defy our reconstruction, but the damaged and smirched condition of the surface of f. 12 shews that the preceding leaves must have been for some long time only loosely connected with the text. Fancy, if given rein to, might suggest—starting from the waste of room that seems to have taken place—either that the original gather was of three sheets only: or that, if it was a full quire of 4 sheets, the quantity of blank vellum tempted the knife of the depredator, and that in this way the disintegration of the quire began. This however is the purest hypothesis.

I have next to discuss the hands that are to be seen in this book—their character, function and individuality.

Each page of the MS. displays three sorts of writing differing widely in size, position and character. The Text is written in a large minuscule hand (T). This hand is strong, vigorous and supple. When it is entirely free, the letters are long rather than square; the direction varies, but is uniformly to the right. The character is fairly pure minuscule; the minuscule form of $\beta$ is almost universal, that of $\eta$ very frequent, those for $\kappa$ and $\lambda$ are usual. Ligatures and couplings of letters form a characteristic, e.g. $\delta$, $\alpha\gamma$, $\sigma\phi$; elaborate and boldly drawn combinations of $\sigma\sigma$, $\epsilon\sigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ are frequent. The letters are always finely formed, with great dash and *slancio*. For size the hand is a salmon among minnows, and has no parallel in writing of this period. The scholia are as large as the text of some other MSS. (e.g. of the Paris Aristotle, grec 1741). The hand is as typical of this period (s. x—xi) as the Plato Clarke 39 of early minuscule or the Demosthenes Paris grec 2534 of the style of the middle of the xth century.

The Marginal scholia are smaller than the text by more than half. They develope the qualities of suppleness and freedom, while they lose firmness of stroke. They are closely and, as it would seem, rapidly written, and are

extremely clear, and contain a low proportion of abbreviations[1].

The Intermarginal scholia do not differ materially from other semi-uncial scholia of this period: the semi-uncial script indeed admits of small variation. These scholia, like those of the Sophocles and the Aristophanes, are uncalligraphic (and in this respect differ from the semi-uncial scholia of a hundred years before, e.g. of the Arethas MSS.): they are plain, very small, the strokes one thickness, the letters most often disjointed.

These are the obvious and palpable differences between the three portions of writing on any page of the MS. The question follows, how many scribes are concerned in producing these apparently different pieces of script?

T and A are both minuscule, and the comparison between them is therefore direct. Allowance being made for the difference of size and rapidity already mentioned, they are plainly in the same hand, and this is generally recognised. A is T on a much smaller scale; the formation of the several letters and ligatures, accents, breathings and compendia can be followed in detail and seen to be in every particular the same. We have therefore a case of the very common practice at this period, especially frequent in Catenas, where text and comment are written by the same scribe in the same character, with a difference, more or less great, of size. Here, the scholia being very abundant, the difference is great.

More uncertainty might fairly be felt whether the Intermarginal scholia (B) were by the same hand as the Text and Marginal scholia. The point of comparison is naturally between them and the lemmata of the Marginal scholia, which are in semi-uncial. Now the A hand is, as I have said, markedly rapid and sloping, and the lemmata share this general character; consequently on any particular page it might be open to anyone to find a clearly marked difference between A and B, which is

[1] None of the rarer signs occur; even comparatively common combinations like *τε* and *των* are seldom found (*τέλους* 111 v., *πιθανώτερον* 126 r, *πάντων* 140 v.). I have however noted *ευ*, in *ἀχιλλευς* 139 v. The *s* is not rendered.

consistently stiff, upright, and even inclined to the left. Nevertheless, I have no doubt in stating (with most if not all of my predecessors) that these two hands are the same. At the beginning of the book, as generally happens, the scribe, either careful of his material or somewhat cramped in his stroke, writes an uniformly smaller and more careful hand—alike in text, marginal scholia, and intermarginal scholia[1]. Here, if we compare the lemmata of A with B, we find that the size is nearly the same, and the strokes and formation of the letters are absolutely identical. I may give the word κρήγυον, which occurs f. 14 v. in both sets of scholia, as an instance. In these early pages the identity of the lemmata of A and the whole of B is evident: the divergence that takes place afterwards is sufficiently accounted for by the increased rapidity and freedom that the scribe as he warmed to his work gave to both text and marginal scholia, while the intermarginal semi-uncial, both from the narrowness of its space and the characteristics of its script, maintained to the end its original rigidity.

Accordingly, the Text, the Marginal Scholia and the Intermarginal Scholia were written by the same scribe; an achievement, if we consider the length of the book, and the unbroken excellence of writing, without a parallel in books of this period that survive. This conclusion greatly lightens the task of distinguishing between the innumerable corrections, clerical and otherwise, which beset the text. They differ in character, thickness and tint, and while some are clear, to divide all of them with certainty among three different scribes would have been almost impossible. If we view them as the work of one writer at different times using a different pen, their similarity is at once explained and the necessity of distinguishing them diminished.

I proceed to describe the portions of the book which the scribe wrote at these three *reprises*. When he wrote the text, he added thereto accents, breathings, and apostrophes to denote

[1] This character may still be seen on f. 15 v. in Wattenbach and von Velsen's facsimile.

elision; quantitative marks[1], elided syllables superscribed above the line, the critical signs in the left-hand margin. He also wrote the title of the books, *ἰλιάδος ᾱ* etc., made the florets with which the books conclude, and apparently illuminated the initial letter. It is possible that the periochae (in red, semi-uncial) may have been written at the same time, but the character suggests the marginal scholia. Further, there are many corrections of the text, above the line, evidently made by the scribe as he wrote the text; the corrections are much smaller than the minuscule of the text—in fact almost minute: but (1) the ink is of the same colour as that of the text, (2) the stroke is the same thickness. We may conclude that the same pen wrote them. Lastly, lines omitted in the text are added from time to time by the writer, usually in the space left below the text, in a character little if at all smaller than that of the text.

I give instances of the operations of the Text-hand:

(1) Corrections: f. 30 r. B 300 *εἰ ἢ*, 30 v. B 324 *μὴν*, 31 v. B 387 *διακρίνει*, 33 r. B 461 *καυστρίου* (here the correction itself is marked out by dots in a paler ink), 114 r. I 112 *ἀρεσσάμενοι*, 123 v. I 596 *ἐδύσετο*, 124 r. I 619 *ἢ κὲ μένωμεν*, 130 v. K 230 *κλειτὸς*, 132 v. K 342 *εἰ ἢ*, 134 r. K 452 *τί ἐ ημὲ*, 137 r. K 572 *ἀπενίζοντο*, 138 r. Λ 45 *ἐγδούπησαν*, 138 v. Λ 73 *δ' ἄρ ἔχαιρε*, 140 v. Λ 171 *ἵστατο*.

(2) Omitted lines added: f. 106 v. Θ 315 added beneath, with the usual sign (a sort of crescent) and the numeral β̄ prefixed, ᾱ prefixed to 314 in the text. 108 v. Θ 410 omitted and added in the same way on the lower margin, except that the numeral ᾱ before v. 409 in the text comes from the inter-marginal hand. 226 r. P 141 added similarly; 305 r. Ψ 609 added similarly. 183 r. Ξ 147; this verse was written twice in the text. T cancels the second line by dots and prefixing the

[1] A selection of these is given by La Roche *l.c.* p. 15.

crescent; the same sign at the end of the line is paler and seems to come from the intermarginal hand.

(3) Completion of elisions: 50 r. Γ 425 ἀντι$^{\alpha}$', 125 r. I 673 $^{ο\iota}$μ', ib. I 675 ἔ$^{\iota}$τ', 129 r. K 154 λάμφ$^{\pi\varepsilon}$', 131 v. K 289 κεῖσ$^{\varepsilon}$', 133 v. K 378 ζωγρεῖτ$^{\varepsilon}$, 136 r. K 520 ὄθ$^{\iota}$', ib. K 529 χείρεσσ$^{\iota}$'. These examples are merely typical. Cf. La Roche, l.c. p. 14.

The marginal-scholia hand—or, to speak more accurately, the scribe at the moment when he wrote the marginal scholia—does not seem to have carried the field of his operations beyond them. There is no writing in or about the text which may not with more likelihood be assigned to the pen which wrote the text or the intermarginal scholia. (I have noted these exceptions: 141 v. Λ 219 ἀντίοσ$^{\nu}$, 158 r. M 176 ἀγορεῦσαι$^{\varepsilon\iota\nu}$, in both cases the correction resembles exactly the marginal scholia; 158 v. M 219, this verse is omitted and added in the margin by this hand.) Possibly, as I have suggested, the Periochae belong to this moment; their moderate-sized semi-uncial recalls the lemmata. Here too one may note that the minuscule in which ff. 1—11 are written stands in size about half-way between the marginal scholia and the text, and the semi-uncials that occur resemble those of the Periochae.

The pen of the intermarginal scholia was more active. The scribe, who apparently did not begin to insert these scholia until the text and the marginal scholia were in their place[1], took the opportunity to give a clerical revision to the text. He added and altered countless accents, breathings, and apostrophes; some he corrected, with or without erasures, others he merely re-made (e.g. square out of round). He adds or

[1] This statement rests (1) on the improbability that the scribe should have changed pen and style twice on every page: (2) on the fact that many intermarginal scholia are arranged in such a way as to avoid critical signs—which therefore were already written. E.g. 125 v. I 694, 150 r. Λ 632, 161 v. M 371, and especially 182 v. Ξ 117, 8. Some cases that might seem to prove the contrary (e.g. 119 v. I 405, 121 v. I 505, 6, 124 v. I 657, 125 v. I 686) are not decisive, for the apparently misplaced position of the critical sign may be original if we compare 207 v. II 81, where there is no scholion, but the diple is considerably above the line.

alters critical signs. Further he added many variants between the lines or in the margin close to the text. These corrections and variants are recognisable by their semi-uncial character, their light tint, and their thin and sometimes barely visible stroke. They are to be absolutely distinguished from the intermarginal scholia, to which they stand in no relation. The scribe evidently kept his two tasks—the insertion of intermarginal scholia and the revision of the text—entirely apart. That the intermarginal scholia were like the marginal, copied en bloc from one archetype, is held by the authorities on this subject (Ludwich l. c. I. p. 140 sq.), and the evidence of writing confirms this conclusion. The scribe therefore, in correcting the text, paid no sort of attention to the scholia. I give instances of these corrections:

(1) Variants: 122 v. I 569 *περσεφόνειαν*, 124 r. I 632 *φονῆοσ*, ib. I 633 *τεθνειῶτος*, 126 v. K 41 *ἐσται*, 128 r. K 105 *ἐέλπεται*, 128 v. K 141 *οὕτωc*, c add., 131 r. K 273 *κατ'*, 131 v. K 278 *μοι*, 132 v. K 345 *ἕλοιμεν*, 133 r. K 385 *πῆι*, ib. K 387 *κατατεθνηώτων*, 134 r. K 424 *δὴ·* , 135 r. K 452 *δαμεὶς* , 136 r. K 515 *ἀλαὸc σκοπιὴν*, c add., 137 v. Λ 27 *ἵρισιν*, 139 v. Λ 146 *τ'*, etc. In many cases it is doubtful whether a correction comes from the intermarginal or the extramarginal hand, especially where the intermarginal hand leaves its usual uncial; e.g. 145 v. Λ 394 *δ'*, 140 v. Λ 151 *ἱππεῖσ*, 149 v. Λ 620 *εὐρυμέδων*, 157 v. M 161 *βαλλόμέναι* (*ων* looks like the pen of the marginal scholia), 160 r. M 281 *καλψηι*, *ύ* may be from either the marginal or the intermarginal pen.

(2) The restoration or alteration of accents, breathings etc. is too universal and too simple to need illustration.

(3) Elisions supplied: 130 r. K 204 *πεπίθοιθ'*, 133 r.

K 370 μέν$^{\epsilon}$', 137 r. K 557 δωρήσαιτ$^{o}$', 137 v. Λ 11 ὄρθι$^{\delta}$', ib. Λ 13 γένετ$^{o}$' etc. Iotas adscript are added 151 r. Λ 698 τῶι, 158 v. M 207 πνοιῆισ, a sonant iota to ἀνασχόμενοι 157 r. M 134.

(4) The critical signs, as appertaining closely to the text, are as a rule written by the hand of the text. Many however shew erasures, and a certain number are in a lighter ink. E.g. f. 36 r. the four dotted diplae on B 612—616, contrasted with the four plain diplae on 596—599 and 605 and the obelus to 603, are paler, and seem to have been added by the intermarginal pen: so 35 v. the signs, especially the dotted diple on B 571, are paler than the text. F. 42 r., here the signs are evidently in different hands; the diple on Γ 4 is in the text-hand, the others are paler and seem in the intermarginal. Erasures are of necessity harder to attribute to any particular hand; a certain number also, as of corrections in this book generally, are due not to the knife but to the rough surface of the vellum. I give some specimens: 13 r. A 68 diple, both dots erased; 14 r. A 117 an erasure in front of the line; 27 v. B 184, 186 diples followed by an erasure before each, in both cases the material may have caused the roughness; similarly 30 v. B 320, 328; 34 r. B 511 the diple stands on an erasure; 35 v. B 571 the dotted diple seems added by man. intermarg.; 36 r. B 596 the diple is followed by an erasure, and so 36 v. B 625, 629, 37 r. B 668, 670, 40 v. B 819; ib. 671, 672 erasures in front of both lines, diples had been added in mistake. Cf. Wachsmuth, l. c. pp. 178, 179.

Up to this point the text and scholia are the work of one scribe. His labours however were not to go unchecked. In fact we shall find them subject to double revision. This supervision is contained in a number of phrases, words, and parts of words, sometimes reduced by the trimming of the page to single letters, which catch the eye of the careful reader on the outer margin of the pages, beyond the marginal scholia. These obscure and often truncated notes were long in receiving attention. Few of them have found their way into La Roche's

apparatus. Wachsmuth in an article, l.c. pp. 183, 184, collected some of them, and Ludwich l. c. pp. 160 sq. has a full if not quite exhaustive list of them. Their value, and in particular the relation between the frequent double corrections, has hardly yet been elucidated. They form the only problem connected with the scribes of the MS., as the first eleven leaves are the only point in doubt with regard to its arrangement.

This revising hand (which we may call C) first appears f. 24 r. A 608 ΓΡ *ποίησ' εἰδυίησι πραπ...*, in small stiff minuscule: the text has *ποίησεν ϊδυίησι* with the accent added: a diaeresis possibly stood upon the iota. F. 25 v. B 65 ΓΡ θωρηΐζαί c᾽ ἐκέλευε: text *σε, κέλευε*. F. 27 r. B 137 ΓΡ *εἶατ' ἐνι μεγαροις ποτιδέγμεναι*, in the same clear stiff ornamental minuscule; text *ἐν* and *προτιδέγμεναι*. Ib. B 147 *κίν...*, two dots are faintly visible. The note must have conveyed some correction (probably *κινήσει* as B C etc.) to *κινήσηι* in the text. This is the first case of a correction marked with dots. Others will follow. F. 28 r. here the marginal scholia are extensively corrected by this hand; in the scholion on B 212 (Dindorf, I. p. 92) the words l. 4, *ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ*—l. 11 *βασιλῆας* are tacked on to the marginal scholia by a sign; the ink is a brighter red, the hand small, upright, and more curled and calligraphic than the marginal scholia. The same hand adds the short scholia on 205 ὃ ἔδωκε: *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν—γέρας* (Dind. p. 90 l. 17) and 207 ΔΙΕΠΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ: *δια του στρατοῦ ἐνήργει*. In the long scholion on 212 ΘΕΡΣΙΤΗΣ Δ ἔΤΙ ΜΟΥΝΟΣ it adds in the margin the words *ου κακως λεγει* with the mark to which a similar sign answers in the text. On the margin it has *δειλωθ...*a correction of *δηλωθ* which stands in the text of the marginal scholia (Dind. I. p. 91 l. 22). Some inter-marginal scholia also on this page may be thought to be in this hand, e.g. *ἀκούσαμεν—ἀγαμέμνων* (Dind. p. 89), *καλῶς—βασιλεῖ* ib., *οὐκ ἔσται—κωθαπτόμενος* (ib.). *ἠχῆι—ἀπήχησιν* (Dind. p. 91), *συμφυτως—κυματων* (ib.). In all the ink is brighter, and the semiuncial more calligraphic than that of the intermarginal hand. The difference amounts to certainty in the case of the notes *βασιλικὰ διαπραττόμενος*

ἔργα (p. 90) and θερσίτης—αἰολικόν (p. 91). F. 28 v., here also some of the intermarginal scholia seem to be added in this hand, e.g. 215 εἴσαιτο—ἄρης (Dind. p. 92 l. 25) and 219 φοξὰ—ὄντα (Dind. p. 93 l. 9); and the following—ἔχθιστος ἀχιλῆι—αἴσχιστος (ib. p. 93 l. 16), πλεῖαι τοι—νικώμενος (Dind. p. 94 l. 7), οἴκαδε περ—ἰάσατο (Dind. ib. l. 28), are certainly not in the hand of either marginal or intermarginal scholia. The next cases that occur are of ordinary correction: f. 30 r. B 294 ειλέωσιν, text ἴλέωσιν; ib. B 300 εἰ ἐτεὸν, text εἰ ἢ ἐτεὸν, the superscribed εἰ being either m. intermarg. or m. text. F. 30 v. B 324 μὲν, text μὴν, ε m. text. F. 31 r. B 351 ἐπωκυποροισιν, text ἐν ὠκυπόροισιν. F. 31 v. B 387 διακρινέει, text διακρίνει, ε m. text or intermarg. F. 32 v. B 435 the interlinear gloss ηθροισμένοι ὦμεν (Dind. II. p. 312) seems to be by C. F. 33 r. the intermarginal scholia ἵνα μὴ—κατορθοῦν, ἀντὶ πολλοὶ—πεπόρισται, φῶ το φαίνω—παιπάλη seem by C; the letters are ornamented, the ink is bright while the other intermarg. scholia are exactly of the colour of the text. B 462 μεναι, text ἀγαλλόμενα; 33 v. B 468 γεινεται ὥρη, text γίνεται ὥρηι; ib. B 481 ἀγρομένησι, text ἀγρομένησῑ; 34 r. B 511 ἀσπληδόν' ἔναιον, text ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον; 34 v. B 537 πολυστάφυλον θ' ἱστίαιαν, text τ' ἴστίαιαν. 37 r. B 646 γόρτυνά τε, text γόργυνάτε, ib. B 656 ἰηλ..., text ἰήλυσοντε, ib. B 663 ὄζοσ, text ὄζον. F. 38 r. B 716 μηθώνην, text μηθώμην. 38 v. B 723 μοχθίζοντα, but text μοχθίζοντα without erasure. 39 r. B 761 τις γὰρ, text τίσ ταρ; ib. B 766 πιερίη, text πηερίηι. These examples may suffice for the ordinary procedure of C; evidently he plays the part of the usual and normal reviser. His hand is distinguished from that of the text, the marginal and the intermarginal scholia by the characteristics of smallness, stiffness, and greater ornamentation, besides the accidental circumstance that the ink of these corrections is usually brighter than that of the rest of the page. C is on the evidence of its character at least coeval with the scribe of the text and scholia; the designation therefore of '*manus rec.*' is erroneous. *Older* than the text-hand it can hardly be said that his hand proves

him to have been, but his function as corrector would make it natural, and the singular stiffness and formality (though elegant) of the strokes corroborates the possibility.

I next call attention to other points concerning this hand and its operation. F. 42 r., here for the first time we find a mark (/) on the margin to call attention to an error in the marginal scholia, *ἀριστοφανει* for *ἀριστοφανη*: the error is corrected apparently by the marg. hand. F. 47 v. Γ 295 the intermarginal note *αριστ*$^{\text{αρ}}_{\text{χ}}$ *ἀφυσσόμενος διὰ τοῦ ō* is completed by the words *ἄλλοι δὲ δια του ᾱ* in C. On the other hand the very minute intermarginalia that sometimes occur, e.g. 50 r., do not shew distinctive signs of C, and seem additions by the intermarginal hand. F. 58 v. Δ 369, the first instance of an omitted line added by C;

β̄ *καὶ μιν φωνήσασ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα,*

the numerals ᾱ and γ̄ are prefixed to *vv.* 368 and 370 in the text. The minuscule here is naturally larger, and may be well compared with that of the text. The characteristics are the same—greater uprightness, with a certain curl and decoration about the single letters. 59 r. an example of an exegetic note by C; *περιφραστικωσ του ετεοκλεουσ* (Δ 386), cf. 59 v. Δ 413 νεμεσῶ$^{\text{τ}}$, Δο. Next come cases of a curious phenomenon, which so far I believe has escaped notice—a series of *double* corrections. I will collect instances of this and of the dotted corrections, and suggest an explanation.

F. 46 r. Γ 219 text *ἀΐδρεϊ*, marg. *ἀΐδρει ἀ....*; *ἀ* is on the extreme margin, *ἀΐδρει* is farther inwards. The first correction may have been *αΐδρει*; 46 v. Γ 231 *...κ᾽ ἑστηκ᾽*, text *εστήκ᾽*; was the first correction *εἵστηκ᾽*? 61 v. Δ 516 *...ἑνταϲ* μεθιέντας, text *μεθίεντας*; it is difficult to see what the original correction can have been. 66 r. E 198 text *ἔνι ποιητοῖσιν*, marg. ἐνὶ ποιη$^{\text{τ}}_{\text{λ}}$ *ἐν.....* 64 r. E 96 text *ἀνπεδίον*, marg. ἀμπε$^{\text{λ}}$ *α.....*; the first correction was perhaps *ἂν*. 86 r. Z 285 text *ἄτέρπου*, marg. ἄτερ, πογ, ἀτέρπ$^{\text{γ}}$..., the second accent is original, the first is added. 106 v. Θ 322 text *ἀνώγεῖ*, marg. *ανώγει ἄνωγεν*. 111 r.

Θ 530 text *ὑπ'ἠοῖοί*, marg. ὑπηοῖοι η..... 202 r. O 567 text *ἔγχεϊ*, marg. ἐρκεϊ χαλ *ἔρκει χαλκει*. 224 r. P 44 *χαλκὸσ*, text *χαλκὸσ*, 259 r. T 401 ἡνιοχῆασ, text *ἡνιοχῆα*. The correction is in two hands, *ασ* is dark, ηνιοχ light red.

These are the double corrections that occur in the outer margin. They are distinguished (1) by their respective position; one set are on the extreme margin and accordingly have often been cut down to one letter: (2) the colour of the ink. The outside note is uniformly a bright red, the inner paler: (3) character. The outside note is invariably in small minuscule, the inner note in small, but larger, semiuncial.

We will next take examples of marginal notes dotted. Besides f. 272 B 147 already quoted, we have 66 v. E 213 ὑψηρεφες, text *ὑψερεφὲσ*. 67 r. E 252 οἵω, text *οἷω*. 80 r. E 894 οἵω, text *οἷω* in ras. (*ιω* and half of *ο* seem later, s. XII or after, and are a rare example of a late correction in the text). 85 r. Z 237 φη....., text *πύργον*. 87 r. Z 353 *κέν*....., text *καὶ*. 89 v. Z 456 *ἐν ἀργεϊ οὖσα*, text *ἐν ἄργει ἐοῦσα*, 90 r. Z 483 λεξα, text *δέξατο*; 93 v. H 133 ἠβώμ, text *ἠβῶιμ'*; 94 r. H 220 *τύχιο...*, text *τυχίοσ*. These instances may suffice: others will be found in Ludwich l. c. One very decisive case however must be quoted; 273 v. Φ 155 *ανδρασ ἄγων δολιχέγχεασ*, text *ἄνδρασ ἔχων δολιχεγχέασ*; i.e. C 2 at first deleted the entire correction, but afterwards erased the deletion so far as it regarded *ἄγων* which he preferred to *ἔχων*, but maintained it as to the accentuation of *δολιχεγχέας*.

What is the explanation of these curious facts, to which I do not know a parallel? That the dotted notes are intended to be cancelled, is almost obvious; this is the constant meaning of dots above a word in MSS., and this explanation is given already by Ludwich l.c. p. 168 n. 201. Why however are sometimes the notes cancelled, and at other times left to stand but with another note by their side? After some reflection I

have hit on the following theory, which meets all the conditions. The corrections entered on the margin by the first reviser were examined and compared with the text by a second reviser. Where the second reviser judged the text right and the correction wrong, he cancelled in this manner the correction; where the correction seemed to him wrong, but the text also to be incorrect, he substituted a new correction for the old on the outer margin. As the second correction was held to supersede the first, it was not necessary to cancel it. If any one takes the trouble to consider the instances I have given, and others that he will find in Ludwich, he will see that no case disagrees with this hypothesis, and all are explicable by it. The book therefore underwent a double revision—a very remarkable sign of the care given to its editing. A doubt might exist as to whether the double correction and the cancelled variants were the work of one or two hands—whether a single corrector revised his own work, or a second revised the work of the first. The latter is in the nature of things the more probable assumption, and the hands are distinguished by colour and character. Now that the dots are assigned to the second corrector (C 2), we may identify the author of the cancelling at

33 r. B 461 *καυστρίου*; *ω* is in the text-hand, but the reviser disapproved of the correction; cf. 83 v. Z 170 in the marg. a sign (/), in the text *ἠνωγειν*; and 14 r. A 124 *πω*.

The nature and source of these corrections, sufficiently evident from their nature, is made clear by several explicit statements; 246 r. Σ 377 a sign /, and, also in the outer margin ÷ ΒΒ *δασειαν* (Dind. II. p. 164, l. 15), sc. *τα βιβλια δασειαν ειχον εις το* Η; text *ἡ δ'*, originally *ἤδ'*. The reviser is in conflict with a previous corrector (intermarginal?). 248 v. Σ 490 a sign /, and πολις, text *πόλεισ, ει* corrected out of *ι*.

Here again the reviser confirms the original writing, and again appeals to the 'archetype'; *πολις δια του ι ειχε το αντιβολον.* A similar reference is made 322 r. Ω 558 *ου ο στι ουχ ευρε εν τω παλαιω*, and the line is marked out by a crescent prefixed. The reviser therefore compares the text with the archetype, and his function is mainly limited to securing a faithful copy of it. The readings quoted in the scholia do not affect him; the scholia in fact are themselves part of the archetype to be copied. This clerical function is the real characteristic of corrections of MSS. at all ages.

The function and relation of these correctors being fixed, it remains to collect instances of their activity:

1. Lines added or removed. These are all by C 1; e.g. 158 r. M 197, the verse is written in the lower margin, with the usual arrangement of numerals α, β, γ, to indicate its place; 172 r. N 422, unless this is in the text-hand, to which C 1 as it expands partly approximates. 178 r. N 731, certainly by C 1, with beneath *εν ἀλλω και ου*, with a mark to which a sign corresponds in the text. 246 v. Σ 381 in marg. ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤ ΕΥΡΕ, one line is erased. Before and after the line are crescents and signs of reference, to which a sign in the text corresponds. 268 v. Υ 447, a crescent before the text and in marg. ΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΙC ΟCΤΙ ΟΥ ΟΥ̓ | ΚΕΙΤΑΙ. 95 v. H 234 is added in the usual way with α β γ. 98 r. H 368, 9 ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΟΙ CΤΙ ΚΕΙΝΤΑΙ: with a sign before the lines and to the text. 98 v. H 380 ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ Ο CΤΙ, with α β γ. ib. H 385 om. add. in marg. with α β γ, and the scholion (intermarg. really) ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ἐΫ́ΚΝΗΜΙΔΕC ΑΧΑΙΟΊ. 79 r. E 841 sq. the passage is rearranged by the numerals α ϛ β γ δ ε ζ prefixed to successive lines; in the margin abreast of 841 ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ΟὙΤ ὅ CΤΙ | ΜΕΤΑ ΤΈCCΑΡΑC | CΤΙΧΟΥC ΚΕΙ̃ΤΑΙ. 80 r. E 901 ἐΝ ΑΛΛΟΙC ΟCΤΙ ΟΥ ΟΥ̓Χ ΕΥ-|

ρηται. These examples sufficiently illustrate this branch of C 1's revision, which he seems to have kept to himself without interference from C 2. Cf. Wachsmuth l.c. p. 184, 5.

2. Scholia corrected, and quasi-exegetic notes added.

78 r. E 808 the intermarg. scholion *τοῦτον τὸν στίχον—φυλάσσω* (Dind. I. p. 223 l. 4) is by C 1, in bright red ornamental semiuncial. 78 v. E 813 ἔκγονος ὁ γἱος , this note is ἔγγονος ὁ γἱωνὸς by C 2, in semiuncial, larger and paler. 68 v. E 314 γρ *ἀμφι-δ' εὸν*, 76 r. E 697 γρ *ἀμπνύνθη*; in both cases γρ is paler and added after the variant was written; perhaps therefore by C 2.

*Strokes* as signs in the margin are frequent, and fill the place of *ζτ* or other signs which are used in Laur. 32. 9 and other MSS. So besides 42 r. which we have quoted, cf. 83 v. Z 170 marg. /, text *ἠνώγειϊ*, breathing and accent remade; 89 r. Z 444 text *οὐδ' ἐμὲ*, marg. *οὐδέμε* /....; 117 r. I 276 / in the margin, text τ *ἤδὲ*, τ is in the same ink as the stroke and is perhaps added by C 1. 128 r. K 106 marg. *μοχθίσσειν* /, text *μοχθήσσειν*. These instances may be enough. The stroke evidently serves the same end as *ζτ* or the sign, namely to call attention to a clerical error or an incomprehensible word; *ζτ* itself is occasionally found, as 76 r. E 698 referring to *καφοσ* in the marginal scholia (Dindorf, I. p. 219 l. 9); 150 v. Λ 674 referring to the marginal scholia. 191 v. O 46 of uncertain reference. It is possible that in all these three places the sign may apply to something in the marginal scholia and be in that hand and a peculiarity of it.

90 v. τ τ c o και εις ο κειται, refers perhaps to the accent on *στατός*; the same sign 179 v. N 793, 275 v. Φ 314. It is merely the sigma of the usual sign for *σημείωσαι* without the usual eta or mu; the full symbol occurs 93 r., 222 r.

94 v., here the two correctors are well distinguished; the notes *ἀπηνήναντο* (H 185), and *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν ἵκανεν* (186) are by C 1, in bright ink, and characteristic ornamental minuscule; γρ οὐἀετε, ἰἀρειη by C 2 (198), is in slightly paler ink, more upright and regular. Other notes by C 2 of a gram-

matical nature are 192 r. O 71 το ϊλιον $\overset{\tau}{\underset{\Delta}{}}$ ογ, sc. *οὐδέτερον*, 213 v. Π 387 $\overset{\epsilon}{}$π αδικίας κριτῶν, 261 r. Υ 58 $\overset{\epsilon}{}$π ceicμ $\overset{}{\underset{}{}}$οῦ C 2 clearly distinguished from the three corrections *ποσειδ́* which occur (by C 1) on the same page; the same contrast is seen 263 r. between cίντηc (N 165) C 2 and *δὴ δ' ε͡τ* Υ 164 (C 1). 264 v. the symbol for *γνώμη* Υ 250 is by C 2. C 2 also adds the scholion *ἄτεοντα —μαραίνω* 266 v. (Υ 332 Dind. II. p. 205 l. 22), ib. Υ 335 cancels C 1's note *ξυμβλ*$\overset{\eta}{}$, 276 r. Φ 313 ἵcτη δέ, text *ἵστη*, ib. Φ 314 c (sc. *σημείωσαι*) ἵνα παγcομεν αγρ, the scholion Φ 319 *τὸ χέραδος—καθαρσίος* (Dind. II. p. 222 l. 8), 276 v. Φ 329 κγπριων ἡ λέξις, 310 v. Ψ 885 *ἄπυρον—τετορευμένον* (Dind. II. p. 273 l. 26), ib. Ψ 891 ἀκοντίcμαcιν, 311 v. Ω 30 a variant $\overset{\epsilon}{}$γρ ἤ οἱ κεχαρισμένα δῶρ' ὀνόμηνεν, ib. Ω 44 $\overset{\epsilon}{}$π αιδοῖc.

The numbering of the similes (which is carried through the book) seems to be by C, cf. e.g. f. 60 κθ and on the next page λ; the letters are in bright ink and do not resemble the text hand. On these numberings and the asterisk which accompanies them see Wachsmuth l.c. p. 181. The signatures also where preserved resemble C; they are carelessly written. λη p. 308 r. is a good instance.

There are few traces of hands later than the composition of the book. On f. 4 v. a XIIIth century scribe has written a portion of Heliodorus, and the same hand apparently has written an interlinear paraphrase as far as B 288. One late correction I have noticed in the text: *οἵω* E 894, which may be by a XIIth century hand. The pictures on the blank spaces of the prolegomena come next: their age is fixed by the Heliodorus over which one of them is painted. There is no later writing in the book. When the gathers and parts of gathers fell out cannot be exactly calculated: the want of sequence of the existing pictures suggests that originally they were more numerous, and that therefore the dislocation of the first gather was later than their period. On f. 237 v., at the bottom of the page, a XVth century hand writes *λειπει φυ $\overset{λλ}{}$ἓν.*

The supplements of pages on white vellum are written in a large XVIth century hand. At the same time apparently new signatures were added throughout the book, and the pages were trimmed and gilded.

To recapitulate the history of the MS. which we have now reconstructed; the sheets, numbered and ruled, were given out to be written. The scribe who received them wrote the text and the principal scholia in the places ruled to contain them; during the act of writing he made corrections from time to time both in the text and the scholia. This done, he apparently began the book again and wrote in the irregular space left between the scholia and the text, and between the lines of the text, other shorter scholia in a different type of hand. He took advantage of this opportunity to correct in an exhaustive manner the text he had written; he added and altered breathings, accents and apostrophes, added and corrected critical signs, and wrote above or in the inner margin corrections of words. The book, thus complete in substance, was given to the original scribe who had numbered the quires and ruled the lines; he compared it throughout with the archetype and noted on the edge of the page differences; sometimes he accompanied these with a mark to call attention; he added lines left out, and omitted scholia either in the ruled margin or the intermediate space. In a few places he explicitly refers to his authority to defend himself from corrections already made in the text by, as it would seem, the first hand on his second round. Lastly, a third person reviewed in detail the suggestions of the reviser; deleted a great number of them in favour of the reading in the text, and in other cases substituted a correction of his own. He added likewise omitted scholia and remarks of a general nature upon the context. This excessive carefulness in the preparation of the book is further seen in the numbering of the similes, the quantitative marks, and the supplements of the elisions.

The book was now complete. Its further history consists of the decay of its structure and the loss of its leaves.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

I iii 21 sq.

audeat inuito ne quis discedere Amore
aut sciat egressum se prohibente deo.

The sense of this couplet must be: No one must leave his home against the will of Love, or he will discover (i.e. find to his cost) that he has set out when a god said 'nay.' Thus *sciet* is seen to be required. A similar corruption has escaped notice in Propertius I 21. 5 sq., where I have restored 'sic te seruato possint gaudere parentes, | ut soror acta tuis sentiet e lacrimis' for 'sentiat.' The prayer for the safe escape of the soldier is made conditional on his carrying out the instructions of the dying Gallus.

I iii 49 sqq.

huc ades et centum ludis geniumque choreis
concelebra et multo tempora funde mero:
illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo,
et capite et collo mollia serta gerat.
sic uenias hodierne: tibi dem turis honores,
liba et Mopsopio dulcia melle feram.
at tibi succrescat proles, quae facta parentis
augeat et circa stet ueneranda senem.

The Genius, in the third person in *v.* 52, appears without warning in the second in *v.* 53. This harshness is increased by the fact that, as we observe from the next line but two, an unintroduced *tibi* should refer to Messalla, the subject and addressee of the poem. It must be noticed further that the use of *hodierne* for *hodiernus*, when there is no name

in the vocative in the neighbourhood to attract it, is not in accordance with the rule of the best writers. This is not neglected even by such licentious writers as Valerius Flaccus, e.g. I 391 sqq. 'tu quoque Phrixeos remo, Poeantie, Colchos | bis Lemnon uisure petis, nunc cuspide patris | inclitus, Herculeas olim moture sagittas,' and Persius: for in *sat.* 3. 27 sqq. 'an deceat pulmonem rumpere uentis | stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis | censoremue tuum uel quod trabeate salutas?' that *uel quod* is corrupt appears, apart from other reasons, to be clearly indicated by the scholium. On looking round to see what word is suspicious here, the eye is at once caught by the superfluous *dem.* It was not then without good reason that Francken conjectured 'hodierne *deus*; tibi.' It is however difficult to admit that '*deus* tibi' passed into 'tibi dem.' The combination looks a stable one. Let us try another route. If GENI were the original, it might most easily become DEM with which it is almost identical in appearance, and everything else would follow: for the vocative see IV 5. 9 'magne Geni' in a poem which, whether by Tibullus or not, has much that reminds us of him.

I vi 75 sq. runs as follows:

> nec saeuo sis casta metu, sed mente fideli
> mutuus absenti te mihi seruet amor.

Then succeeds a picture of the destitution and misery of the faithless, the first two lines of which are

> at quae fida fuit nulli, post uicta senecta
> ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu.

What sort of coherence is this? 'Delia, be true to me not from fear but from love. *But the woman* who was never true to a lover, when she is old is forced to spin, like a menial, for a wretched livelihood.' It is obvious that the fate of the faithful must be contrasted with that of the faithless; and that therefore the companion picture has been lost. It filled at least four lines, and a lacuna of at least that magnitude should be recognized after 76. For similar pairs of portraits see II 4. 39—44 and 45—48 'at bona quae nec auara fuit' et q. s.; I. 4.

65 sq. 'quem referent Musae' and 67—70 'at qui non audit Musas' et q. s.

I ix 59 sq.

nec lasciua soror dicatur plura bibisse
pocula nec plures emeruisse uiros.

Baehrens rightly says '*emeruisse* cum id quod hic flagitatur 'emeritos reddidisse' non possit significare corruptum uidetur.' *emeritus* in the sense of 'Venere exhaustus' is not a passive, but a middle, 'having served one's time'; and the only sense in which *emereo* can take an accusative is that of 'earning' or 'winning' a person's good will,' as in the passages of Ovid quoted in the lexx., *Am.* 2. 8. 24 '*unum* est *e dominis* emeruisse satis,' *Her.* 6. 138, *Trist.* 4. 8. 52, a sense quite unsuitable here. Baehrens' *enecuisse* is however quite improbable. *emoluisse* would do. It takes an acc. in Pers. 6. 26 'emole... granaria'; *molo, permolo* are found in this connexion; *moluit* in Petron. 23. For the preposition compare Juv. 10. 223 'quot longa uiros exsorbeat uno | Maura die.'

II ii 17 sqq.

It is necessary that I should again refer to this passage, upon which I have commented in *Journal of Philology*, XXV. p. 49, for two reasons. First I must restore to its rightful owners the emendation I then proposed as my own, the punctuation 'uota cadant utinam!' belonging to Haupt while 'cad*a*nt' for 'cad*u*nt' is found as a correction in Italian MSS of the Renaissance. Secondly I must confess that this emendation in spite of its palaeographical simplicity is no longer satisfactory to me, as it cannot be made to agree with what I believe to be the genuine reading of the hitherto uncorrected lines that follow.

The whole passage is presented in the MSS as follows:

uota cadunt utinam strepitantibus aduolet alis
flauaque coniugio uincula portet Amor,
uincula quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus
inducat rugas inficiatque comas.
hic ueniat natalis auis prolemque ministret,
ludat et ante tuos turba nouella pedes.

The reading and the interpretation of the passage hinge on the question, does the distich 17, 18 contain a *wish* or a *statement*? In my previous discussion I pointed out that 'aduolet—portet' cannot contain a wish *and* the previous verb (cadunt) a statement. But this is not enough. For it may be held, as it is by those who have conjectured *uiden ut* (scribes in the inferior MSS) or *ut iam* (Baehrens) for *utinam*, that both parts of the verse are statements. This view is strongly confirmed by such parallels as I 5. 57 'eueniet; *dat signa deus.* sunt numina amanti' and the well-known passage in Catullus XLV, where in answer to the lovers' promises of fidelity the Love God twice 'sternuit adprobationem.' The gain to the passage in poetical value if we make the couplet a picture instead of a prophecy is obvious. If this be clear, *cadunt* may be retained; but *utinam* must go. If it does, the position of *aduolet* and *portet* is precarious. For the subjunctive may be simply a consequential alteration of the same kind as that of *ducar—proripiar* to the indicative in I 6. 71 sq. *uiden ut—aduolet—portet* is quite good as an expression of the idea; cf. II 1. 25 'euentura precor: *uiden ut* felicibus extis | *significet* placidos nuntia fibra deos;' it is far better in this regard than Baehrens' *ut iam!* with its prosaic adverb, though this is nearer to the MSS. To satisfy both tradition and expression I would suggest *uota cadunt TIBI, nam. tibi nam* written *tⁱ nam* was copied *ti nam* and corrected metri gratia to *utinam.* There is an exact parallel to the corruption in Prop. II 32. 8 where *tibi me,* written *tⁱ me,* was corrected, metri gratia, in certain MSS to *timeo.* For the dative with *cadere* 'to be realized,' compare I 6. 85 'haec *aliis* maledicta *cadant.*' Lest some one who prefers the old punctuation should propose *uota cadunt, tibi,* I may observe that Tibullus apparently never places *nam* second in the sentence.

I can now come to *v.* 21. To abbreviate discussion I at once range myself with the scholars who (in opposition to Lachmann) take the fourth word from *auis* and not from *auus.* Heinsius proposed 'hac uenias, Natalis aui which involves 'ministres.' He was, I think, right in taking Natalis as a voc. see I 7. 63 'at tu Natalis *multos* celebrande *per annos* | candidior *semper* candidiorque ueni.' The same passage however

in the words I have italicized reveals the fatal weakness of an otherwise plausible emendation, viz. that it requires the sense 'Birthday God, come *ever* with this happy omen,' and this sense is not provided by the words. *redeas* for *ueniat* would indeed provide it; but that would make the correction very improbable. I propose to change *hic* to *haec* with the Guelferbytanus and *ueniat* to *ualeat* and make no other change, thus reading 'hAEc VALEat, Natalis, auis prolemque ministret,' 'May this happy omen hold good and be productive of offspring and may young children play before thy feet.' For *ualeat* compare I 4. 23 'uetuit pater ipse *ualere* | iurasset cupide quidquid ineptus amor.' The picture of the little children playing in front of the image of the Genius is one after Tibullus' heart; cf. I 10. 15 sq. 'sed patrii seruate Lares; aluistis et idem, | cursarem *uestros* cum tener *ante pedes*.'

II iii 61 sqq.

at tibi dura seges Nemesim qui abducit in agros
persoluat nulla semina terra fide.
et tu, Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uuae,
tu quoque deuotos, Bacche, relinque lacus.

Thus, except that they have *Nemesis*, do the best codices of Tibullus give the first of these couplets. Though there may be a good deal that is obscure about the poem of which they form a part, the reading and interpretation of these lines do not appear to be affected thereby. Nemesis, the unfaithful mistress of Tibullus, had left Rome for the country, where he could see her but seldom. Passing by the circumstances of this departure which were such as to excite, perhaps to warrant, a poignant jealousy in the poet, as not concerning us now, we have to consider its occasion. For this let us interrogate the poet himself. He says in the second couplet of the poem 'ipsa Venus latos iam nunc migrauit in agros | uerbaque *aratoris* rustica discit Amor.' He goes on 'o ego, dum aspicerem dominam, quam fortiter *illic* | uersarem ualido pingue bidente solum | agricolaeque modo curuum sectarer aratrum | dum subigunt steriles arua *serenda* boues.' In 69 sq. he contrasts his lot with that of the happy ancients: 'glans aluit ueteres, et passim semper amarunt. | quid

nocuit *sulcos* non habuisse *satos*?' And lastly in 79 he says 'ducite; ad imperium dominae *sulcabimus* agros.' The occasion then is obvious to any one who has even a moderate power of reading between the lines. Nemesis' removal to the country coincided with one of the most important dates in the shepherd's calendar, the commencement of the operations of ploughing and sowing. These operations took place towards the close of the year, the exact time of course depending on the weather. With this accords the allusion to viticulture in the next couplet (above) and the following one 'haud impune licet *formosas* tristibus agris | *abdere*; non *tanti* sunt tua *musta*, pater,' the important work of *ablaqueatio*, or digging round the roots of the vine, being performed late in October. These lines then are in clear connexion with the occasion of the poem, and their sense is: 'Perish the crops and perish the vine, if their sowing and its tending is to rob me of my love!' I return to consider some points of expression. Several interpreters have taken *tibi* and *dura* together, and have supposed that the cruelty expressed by *dura* is retributive cruelty towards the hated rival or his lands. These have overlooked not merely the circumstance, by itself of relatively small moment, that *durus* is not found with a dative in Tibullus, but the more significant fact that in a metaphorical sense it is never used, save where it refers to the feelings of the poet himself or of those with whom he is in sympathy. See I 2. 6; 4. 47; 6. 7, 69; 7. 56, 63; 8. 50, 76; 10. 49; II. 6. 28, 47. I may be perhaps pardoned for laying some stress upon this consideration, as the expression of the wish 'sit tibi dura seges' had seemed harsh to me long before I thought of examining the usage of Tibullus.

Yet another point may be decided by an appeal to Tibullus' habits of thought. *semina*, the only form of the word *semen* occurring in Tibullus, is found in three passages, the present one and the two following: I 7. 31 'primus inexpertae *commisit semina terrae*' and II 6. 21 sq. 'spes alit agricolas, spes sulcis *credit* aratis | *semina* quae magno faenore *reddat ager*.' We see thus that the idea which naturally rises to the mind of Tibullus, when thinking of *semina*, is that they are so much

capital lent to the earth which receives and should faithfully repay it with interest—a strong defence of *terra* against all proposed alterations. The only change which the passage requires, besides the universally accepted one of *abducit* to the second person, is the slight one of *qui* to *quae*; both these changes were made by the Italian scribes of the inferior MSS.

When the lines are thus read and punctuated

> et tibi, dura seges, Nemesim quAE abducis ab urbe,
> persoluat nulla semina Terra fide,

their sense and their connexion with what follows are so clear that further comment may seem superfluous. But it should perhaps be added that the Earth-goddess is to punish the cruel tilth for drawing Nemesis away from the city, just as the vintage is to suffer at the hands of the Wine-god for the same offence.

I have purposely kept out of the previous discussion any thing that might involve reference to another much disputed distich of this poem, 33 sq.

> at tu, quisquis is es, cui tristi fronte Cupido
> imperat, ut nostra sint tua castra domo.

Lachmann long ago held that there was a lacuna after the pentameter; and the attempts at amending or explaining it since him have completely justified his judgement. That 'at tu quisquis is es' is an address to his rival, is obvious; but there is a difficulty in *tristi fronte* (for why should bidding him be the accepted lover of Nemesis be a mark of Cupid's disfavour to the rival?) until we observe that *tristis*, like *durus*, carries naturally a reference to Tibullus' own feelings; and that he says more briefly here what he says explicitly at I 6. 1 sq. 'semper, ut inducar, *blandos offers mihi uultus ; | post tamen es* misero *tristis* et asper, *Amor*.' The metaphor in *castra*—the warfare of love ('militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido' Ovid, and 'ure, puer, quaeso tua qui ferus otia liquit | atque iterum erronem sub *tua signa* uoca' Tib. II 6. 6) is common enough in Latin love poetry. *nostra—domus* means 'the house which is properly mine'; for *domus* in this connexion

compare Prop. 2. 24. 24 'una discat amare domo,' and for the pronoun Tib. I 9. 77 sq. 'blanditiasne *meas* aliis tu uendere es ausus? | tune aliis demens oscula ferre *mea?*'

II 5. 67 sqq.

In the *Journal of Philology*, XXV. p. 53, I said that lines 67 (69 is an erratum)—70 must be detached from lines 71 sqq., with which they have no immediate connexion. Further I could not then see my way to go, though in the previous page I threw out two suggestions as to the ways in which they might be made to cohere with the subjects of our poem. But I believe that I have been more fortunate since. An attentive examination of the lines in question reveals the fact that they are not only obviously incoherent where they stand, but in seeming conflict with other portions of the poem.

Elsewhere in it we read of *one* Sibyl; here of *four*. If the Sibylla, who has never led the Romans wrong (15), the *uates* who prophesies now (18)—the *uates* who prophesied to Aeneas (19, 65), has predicted any or all of the feats and the disasters of Rome, it seems self-stultifying to suggest that any or all of them have been predicted by a Marpessian, a Greek, or a Tiburtine! The discrepancy is a real one; but the history of the *Sibyllini libri* will provide a solution. For the Romans, *the* Sibyl was the *anus fatidica* who, with her nine rolls, appeared to King Tarquin and who was identified later with the Sibyl who prophesied to Aeneas. The three extant rolls of her prophecies were preserved in the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus till the year B.C. 82, when they were destroyed by fire. The sequel may be told in the words of Tacitus *Annals*, 6. 12 'quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post exustum bello sociali Capitolium quaesitis Samo Ilio Erythris per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carminibus, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio quantum humana ope potuissent uera discernere'; compare Dionys. Hal. 4. 62. A new collection of oracles was formed; and by a pious fiction, to which the annals of superstition will furnish parallels, the paramount authority of the old Roman Sibyl was transferred to this collection which from thenceforward

passed under her name. This was the rationale of the second collection. Before popular belief could accept these new oracles, it required the assurance that they were the genuine utterances of the Roman Sibyl; but popular belief, ever more eager for a what than critical of a how, did not trouble itself with the question who were these Albuneas, Phytos and Herophiles, from whom the precious utterances of their Sibyl were to be recovered. Whether they were local names for the Roman Sibyl, or whether it was her spirit that was transferred to other bodies, was quite indifferent. All explanations were possible, and any satisfactory[1].

What then are the lines which we have been considering? They are nothing but a poetical description of the contents of the second collection, i.e. the Sibylline books which the newly-appointed *quindecimuir*, Messalinus, would have to consult; and their place is after the mention of their official and reputed author—the Sibyl. If they are placed there, the obstinately incoherent 'quidquid,' which so many scholars have in vain essayed to emend or interpret, at once falls into connexion and construction, 'fata canit' being continued and amplified in the four following lines:

15 Te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla,
abdita quae senis fata canit pedibus,
67 quidquid Amalthea, quidquid Marpesia dixit
Herophile, Phyto Graia quod admonuit,
quaeque Aniena sacras Tiburs per flumina sortes
70 portarat sicco pertuleratque sinu,

[1] There is a somewhat similar difficulty in Pausanias (x 12) where three, or rather four, Sibyls are mentioned, though elsewhere that writer only speaks of Σίβυλλα in the singular. E. Maass *de Sibyllarum indicibus* p. 9 explains the inconsistency by the hypothesis that Pausanias has taken this account from another writer. The hypothesis of borrowing is not devoid of plausibility (compare now Frazer *ad loc.*) though the argument from inconsistency is inconclusive. But a similar explanation of the contradiction in Tibullus would be quite superficial. [To prevent a possible misconception I wish to add that I do not regard this contradiction as in itself a cogent reason for altering the text of the poet; it is reasons of form and not of matter that demand a change.]

17 Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas
uatis et ipse precor quid canat illa doce.
haec dedit Aeneae sortes, etc.

The reading of the above lines is the same as that I proposed in the *Journal of Philology*, l.c., except that, for 'raptarat,' from the MS. reading (*portarit*) I now give *portarat*, which, weak though it is to us, may have commended itself to a Roman, as Seneca has (of Aeneas) *de benef.*, III 37. 1 '*tulit* illum per ignes *et* (quid non pietas potest?) *pertulit* colendumque inter conditores R. imperii posuit.' [H. Belling, I see, has already made the same suggestion.]

III (Lygdamus) 4. 25 sq.

non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum
aetas, *humanum* nec *uidet illud opus.*

So the MSS. Lachmann with great acuteness corrected '*heroum* nec *tulit ulla domus.*' Baehrens apparently thought this too violent, reading in its place "humanum nec tulit ille decus"; on which we need only observe that *humanum* is a metrical correction for *hominum* which arose from the confusion of its abbreviation *hōum* with that of *heroum h'oum*; compare Prop. I. 20. 21 where the same corruption has taken place. B.'s proposal in addition to its intrinsic demerits has the extrinsic one of adopting the only improbable part of his predecessor's correction, *tulit* being almost devoid of resemblance to *uidet.* Lygdamus (as we saw *Journal of Philology*, l.c. p. 60 note) is a frequent imitator of Horace; and a passage from the Odes suggests DEDIT as a synonym of *tulit* which might be most easily corrupted to *uidet*; *carm.* 3. 6. 47 '*aetas* parentum peior auis *tulit* | nos nequiores, mox *daturos* | progeniem uitiosiorem.' Compare Virgil *Aen.* 10. 704 'una quem nocte Theano | in lucem genitori Amyco *dedit*' and Mart. 9. 41. 6 'ut geminos Ilia casta *daret.*' If *di* fell out after *de* in *dedit*, an obvious way of mending the metre would be to change *det* to *uidet*; or, if again the letters *i* and *e* were accidentally interchanged, the resulting *dīdet* would (for a similar reason) be most easily changed to the same verb.

III xi (IV v) 1 sq.

Qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit hic mihi sanctus
atque inter festos semper habendus erit.

What the day was which Sulpicia declares she will hold so sacred, has never been questioned. It was the birthday of her lover 'Cerinthus.' But editors have too eagerly assumed that this can be extracted from the reading of the lost Cujacian fragment (F) which is printed above. This MS, though our best authority for the poems where Scaliger has recorded its readings, is not infallible, as we know from v. 10 of this poem where *calet*, corrupted to *ualet* in the Ambrosian and the Vatican, has been further corrupted by F to *uolet*. The reading of F can mean one of two things only. It may mean 'the day which brought you to the birth for me,' a proper description of the day, had Sulpicia been the parent of Cerinthus. Or it may mean 'the day which united me to you,' a sense excluded by the context (vv. 3, 19) and condemned by the silent consent of the commentators. Baehrens, no doubt influenced by these considerations, read 'En! qui te, Cerinthe.' But he has had no following. In fact his *en* condemns itself. He did, however, well to turn for light to our other authorities; of which A reads *Est qui* and V *St qui*. Their importance here is obvious if we consider that, while F presents us with apparent sense but real nonsense, their readings are simply unintelligible. A is usually better than V, but not always; e.g. in Pan. 18 V has the true reading 'dicat,' as against both A and F ('dictat'). No reading of the line can be accepted then which does not account for the triple variety of tradition, *Qui mihi te, Est qui te, St qui te.* This may be most simply explained by the hypothesis that over *Qui mihi te* was written *Est* or *St* (or something which could be mistaken for these), and that the copyist who took *Est* omitted the metrically superfluous *mihi*. In considering what the word was, Baehrens gave the preference to the witness of A; but I think V's unmetrical *St* is entitled to it. I would conjecture then

Si mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit hic mihi sanctus.

This *si* makes little change in the reading of F and explains the

tradition of AV by the easy assumption that SI was corrupted into (E)ST[1]. The line thus emended falls into line with the rest of the poem. Sulpicia's tribute of love and loving wishes to Cerinthus is consistently conditional. He must reciprocate her feelings. 5 'iuuat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror | *si modo* de nobis mutuus ignis adest,' 9, 10 'Mane geni, cape tura, libens uotisque faueto | *si modo* cum de me cogitat ille calet.' And so here, '*If* you were born to be mine, then I will always honour your birthday.'

[1] A misunderstood correction in the archetype appears to have created corruption in I 6. 46, where for 'non amens uerbera torta timet' AV have 'non *et amans*' etc. which comes from 'amåns.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

## SOME NOTES ON THE TEXT OF LUCAN.

II 528 sqq.

> iamque secuturo iussurus classica Phoebo
> temptandasque ratus moturi militis iras
> adloquitur tacitas ueneranda uoce cohortes.

I quote Francken's note on 529 : '*commoti* Heins., *mature* Bentl. Qui defendunt interpretantur : "moturi castra." Sed non movet castra miles, sed dux ; praeterea nondum constabat Pompeio de profectione, sed animos militum antea experiri volebat, temptandisque animis moturus militis iras erat Pompeius. Scribendum censui *moturus* cum, sive antea quam moveret castra. Librarii ante genitivum militis substituerunt eundem casum.' Francken's forcible objections to the MS text must hold till they are refuted, and his explanation of the corruption is reasonable. But his emendation *moturus* is awkward and after *ratus* cacophonous. We shall effect the desired result better by reading *moturo*. The construction is of course clear, ratus temptandas moturo (sibi) iras ; but it might puzzle a copyist.

II 613 sqq.

> hinc latus angustum iam se cogentis in artum
> Hesperiae tenuem producit in aequora linguam,
> Hadriacas flexis claudit quae cornibus undas.

*linguam* is a perfectly unobjectionable word to express the meaning and occurs more than once in Livy, by whom Lucan's style has been largely influenced. Only the Ashburnham and other MSS, including, it is very possible, the Montpelier codex

before erasure, have the strange variant *sulcum*. An extension of the meaning of *sulcus* applying it to anything which in a long line interrupts a smooth surface, need not however surprise us; for *lingua bisulca* is not a tongue with two furrows but with two forks, *pedes bisulci* are cloven feet, *trisulcum fulmen* the three-forked lightning, and in Appulcius Met. II. 3 (p. 757) *sulcis* is used of the long sinuous bodies of snakes ('sulcis insurgentium uiperarum'). Similar uses of the cognate Greek word ὁλκός naturally occur. Nicander *Alex.* 79 is especially interesting, ἀμφὶ δὲ ὁλκὸς | τέτρηχε γλώσσης νέατος δ' ὑποκάρφεται ἰσθμός.

It is less difficult, though by no means easy, to explain the variant of the same group of MSS in

III 379 sqq.

> proxima pars urbis celsam consurgit in arcem
> par tumulo mediisque sedent conuallibus arua.

where they have *conscendit* for *consurgit*. If *conscendit* be genuine, it must be interpreted by the light of Prop. 4. 1. 65 '*scandentes* quis qui cernet de uallibus *arces*, | ingenio muros aestimet ille meo', cf. 4. 1. 125. Certainly I can say with Francken 'Me *consurgit* non offendit.'

VI 192 sqq.

> fortis crebris sonat ictibus umbo
> et galeae fragmenta cauae compressa perurunt
> tempora: nec quicquam nudis uitalibus obstat
> iam praeter stantis in summis ossibus hastas.

This is a description of the gallant Scaeua whom his foes have made into a porcupine. How far Lucan's tastelessness may go in the direction of senselessness, it may be hard to determine. But it is going very far to say that 'nothing prevents his uncovered vitals from coming out except the spears fixed in the surface of his frame.' I believe that A has fallen out after the Ā of the previous word; and that the sense intended is that the only thing which shields the unprotected vital parts is the forest of spears sticking in his flesh. What

could be more in Lucan's manner than the conceit that the man is no longer protected by his own defensive armour but by the spears of the enemy? For *obstat a* compare I 59 'nullaeque obstent a Caesare nubes,' and for the elision VII 548.

VI 285 sqq.

> Torquato ruit inde minax qui Caesaris arma
> segnius haud uidit quam malo nauta tremente
> omnia subducit Circaeae uela procellae.

I cannot see either the appropriateness of *uidit* here or the meaning of the combination *segnius uidere*; *tardius uidit* of course would be sense. So I am the more astonished that no one should have as yet proposed VITAT.

VI 475.

> Maeander direxit aquas,

Haskins rightly: *direxit*] 'has straightened' cf. Sen. *N. Q.* I x § 1 coronam si diuiseris, arcus erit, si direxeris, uirga. But here and elsewhere in all classical authors derigo is required in this sense.

IX 30 sqq.

> quas ne per litora fusas
> colligeret rapido uictoria Caesaris actu,
> Corcyrae secreta petit.

Hosius' *contereret* and *conficeret* have no probability. We should correct CORRIPeret. *corripere* in various senses is corrupted to *colligere* in more than one passage of the classics: Prop. 4. 8. 11, where *corripit* is preserved by the Neapolitanus alone; and Silius 10. 3, where all the MSS have *colligit*, but *corripit*, the emendation of Schrader, is required by the sense, 'ceu fera quae telis circum cingentibus ultro | assilit in ferrum et per uulnera corripit hostem.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

## ON THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX AND FIRMICUS DE ERRORE PROFANARUM RELIGIONUM.

OCTAV. vii. 3 Halm

*Testis et Curtius, qui equitis sui uel mole uel honore* (f. *honere* i.e. *onere*, as was long ago conjectured) *hiatum profundae uoraginis coaequauit.*

*Equitis* seems here = *equi*, a sense which A. Gellius *N. A.* xviii. 5 supports from a passage in the *Annals* of Ennius as well as from Vergil and Lucilius. The defence, which in the latter case, is a very lame one, is put in the mouth of the rhetorician Antonius Iulianus. Minucius introduces Antonius Iulianus Oct. xxxiii. 4 *Scripta eorum relege, uel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus ueteres, Flaui Iosephi uel Antonii Iuliani de Iudaeis require.* The coincidence is perhaps not accidental: Iulianus' assertion that *eques* was found = *ecus* had been read by Minucius in the section of Gellius quoted above.

viii. 4

*Templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri si fas est sacerdotum, honores et purpuras despiciunt.*

Halm's addition of *ipsi* after *miseri* is not felicitous: possibly *s* has fallen out in consequence of the following *si*: miserentur, miseri*s* si fas est, i.e. misereri, 'they commiserate, if the miserable may be permitted to do so, the pagan priests.'

x. 1

*quae aut omnia aut pleraque omnium uera declarat ipsius prauae religionis obscuritas.*

*omnium* is perhaps genuine 'the whole of which, or the largest portion of the whole.' *Omnia* (Wopkens) does not seem to me likely.

5. *At etiam Christiani quanta monstra, quae portenta confingunt!*

i.e. Turning from the Jews to the Christians, *these also* are guilty of the most outrageous inventions. There is no necessity to alter *etiam* into *iam*. Minucius classes the two beliefs together, and having first spoken of the Jews as upholding a single God, goes on to the expansion and development of that idea by the Christians.

xi. 9. *Omnia ista figmenta male sanae opinionis et inepta solacia a poetis fallacibus in dulcedinem carminis lusa a uobis nimirum credulis in deum uestrum turpiter reformata sunt.*

*nimirum* is not to be altered to *nimium*, but is constructed with *credulis* 'have received a shameful remodelling from you Christians, doubtless from over credulity, to suit your God.'

xii. 3

*nondum condicionem tuam sentis?*

P, the Paris MS of the *Octavius*, had originally *senis*. This may perhaps throw light on the difficult passage in Stat. *S.* iv. 3. 20 *Hic senis populi uias grauatas.* It is not impossible that there also *sentis* is the word corrupted into *senis*, of course as abl. of *sentus*, not as 2nd pers. of *sentio*.

xiv. 2

*maxime cum non laudi, set ueritati disceptatio uestra nitatur.*

Halm conj. *annitatur:* more probably *innitatur*, which is frequently followed by a dative.

xvii. 2

*ignorare nec fas nec licet ingerentem sese oculis et sensibus nostris caelestem claritatem.*

So, I believe, in Vell. P. II. 126. 1 *horum sedecim annorum opera cum †insera sint† oculis animisque omnium*, we should correct *ingerant se*.

xxi. 12

*Et despicis Isidis ad hirundinem sistrum et adsparsis membris inanem tui Serapidis siue Osiris tumulum.*

*despicis* may be a corruption of *respice sis* 'turn your glance, I beg you.' Minucius is illustrating by a fresh instance the *mortality* of the Pagan Gods. 'Look' he says 'again at Isis with her symbols of swallow and kettle-drum, and the empty tomb of your Osiris or Serapis, with the mangled remains lying near, but not within.'

xxii. 6

*cum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua, et cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina.*

Stat. *S.* iv. 3. 161 *Donec...Tarpeius pater intonabit aulae.*

xxvi. 12

*uult enim* (Plato) *esse substantiam inter mortalem inmortalemque, id est inter corpus et spiritum mediam, terreni ponderis et caelestis leuitatis admixtione concretam, ex qua monet etiam nos pro cupidinem amoris et dicit informari et inlabi pectoribus humanis et sensum mouere et adfectus fingere et ardorem cupiditatis infundere.*

Perhaps *ex qua monet etiam pronos ad cupidinem amoris,* from which he takes occasion to give a warning to the amorous, saying that love takes form and steals into the breast etc. Bährens, I think, goes beyond the possibilities in his *ex qua Erotem etiam* (*Eros pro cupidine Amoris*) *dicit et formari et inlabi p. h.,* which is itself a remodelling, and by no means a very probable remodelling, of Dombart's *ex qua manet etiam Eros, et dicit informari etc.* (*pro cupidinem amoris* omitted as a gloss).

xxviii. 7

*nisi quod uos et totos asinos in stabulis cum uestra uel Epona consecratis et eosdem asinos cum Iside religiose deuoratis.*

Rigault added *sua* after *uel,* quoting Tertull. *Apol.* 16 *uos tamen non negabitis et iumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a uobis,* and conj. *decoratis* for *deuoratis.* The

latter emendation seems certainly right, but, in spite of the undoubted acumen of this able pupil of the Jesuits, I venture to doubt the former. In the passage of Tertullian the directness of the *sua* heightens the sarcastic effect of the sentence; in the passage of Minucius, though as a *side-allusion* it has its point (your Epona, or perhaps I should say theirs), the sarcasm is comparatively weak (partly indeed from the indirectness of *sua*), while the natural suggestion of the MS is certainly, *not* that *any* word has fallen out, *but* that *uestra* is a corruption, as Bährens thought, of *Vesta*. So in Copa 26 *Vestae* has been corrupted into *uestrae*, as Isaac Voss saw; and the connexion of the ass with Vesta is known from other sources, e.g. Prop. IV. 1. 21, Ov. *Fast.* VI. 311, 347. [Cornelissen prints *cum uestra bella Epona*, after Heinsius.]

xxxii. 7

*Erras, o homo, et falleris: unde enim Deus longe est, cum omnia caelestia terrenaque et quae extra istam orbis prouinciam sunt Deo cognita plena sint?*

I believe *cognita* is an error for *condita* (see my crit. note on *Ibis* 539), and that we should write *sunt condita, Deo plena sint*, the two words *condita, Deo* having changed places and become *Deo cognita*.

xxxiv. 1

*Ceterum de incendio mundi aut inprouisum ignem cadere aut difficile non credere uulgaris erroris est.*

I suggest that the first *aut* has been transferred from its place before *non credere*, and that *difficile* is a corruption of *diffiteri*.

*C. de incendio mundi, inprouisum ignem cadere aut diffiteri aut non credere, uulgaris erroris est.*

Firm. iv. 3

*Considerandum est etiam, quale sit numen, quod sic impuri corporis delectatur hospitio, quod impudicis adhaeret membris, quod polluta corporis contaminatione placatur. erubescite, o miseri, †summitatem.*

Probably *summatem* 'your presiding God.' Apul. M. XI. 10 (§ 775 Hildebrand) *manibus ambabus gerebat altaria, id est auxilia, quibus nomen dedit proprium deae summatis auxiliaris prouidentia.*

v. 5

Μύστα βοοκλοπίης, συνδέξιε πατρὸς ἀγαυοῦ.

Bursian conj. *νιὲ δεξιέ*; but it seems unsafe to alter the MS reading, which may find an explanation from the tendency of the ancient religions to group round their gods powers supporting them on the right or left. *σὺν* refers to this grouping; *συνδέξιος* might be one of the company stationed on the god's right. Pherecydes (schol. on Apollonius Rhodius P. 1129) divided the Idaei Dactyli into two groups of 20 *δεξιοί*, 32 *ἀριστεροί*. Any one of these would be *συνδέξιος* to the other 19, *συναρίστερος* to the other 31. Compare also the *ἅγιοι πάρεδροι οἳ ἐν δεξίῳ καὶ ἀριστέρῳ* (*sic*) of the 16th Sethianic inscribed curse in Wunsch's *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Teubner 1898) with the remark of Wunsch p. 97.

vii. 2

*In hoc loco cum a Plutone uirgo prope uesperam fuisset inuenta, ui rapitur et superimposita uehiculo scissis uestibus laceratis crinibus ducitur: nec †reseruati ungues contra amatorem rusticum aliquid profuerunt.*

Haupt (*Hermes* II. 8) would write *resecati*, illustrating from Horace's *proelia uirginum Sectis in iuuenes unguibus acrium*, and he defends the form from Apuleius Eumenius Cato Columella. But (1) the meaning of *resecari*, to cut away, pare down, is against this; (2) the change is not very easy, palæographically. May not *reserati* be the right word, 'uncovered' 'unsheathed,' as a cat opens or lays bare its claws to inflict a scratch?

8.

*Dicite mihi, o dii miseri mortales, quid naturalibus rebus additis funera?*

The same combination of words is given by the MS of Firmicus in xviii. 8 *Quare nihil uobis sit cum tympani cibo, o dii miseri mortales.*

In both cases Halm and Bährens omit *dii*. But it cannot be accidental in *two* places. As Firmicus speaks of man as God's Creature xvi. 4 *quicquid hominem dei perdere conatur*, I think he may have the same idea in the passages under consideration. *O dei miseri mortales* 'ye wretched mortals whom God has made,' a pitiful appeal to them as beings created by God and deserving a better fate than to fall into such delusions.

viii. 4

*deos eos appellare nolite.*

Vell. P. cxxvi. 1 *non appellauit eum sed fecit deum.* The words are identical, and the assonance *deos eos, eum deum*, the same.

xiii. 3

CAPIOCTOC of the MS is rather CAPPAC ΥΟΣ (Σάρρας ὑός = υἱός) than ΣΑΡΡΑΣ ΠΑΙΣ. It is true Firmicus is explaining the etymology of Serapis as a descendant of Sara, but the intermediate Σάρρας παῖς is omitted and υἱός substituted as less peculiar.

xix. 1

ΔΕΝΥΝΦΕ is perhaps a corruption of [ΟΥ]ΛΕ ΝΥΜΦΙΕ, *salue sponse* (J. of Phil. I. Part 2, p. 78).

ROBINSON ELLIS.

# THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE. II.

THE following remarks on Mr G. B. Grundy's latest paper on this subject, in Vol. XXV. No. 50 of the *Journal of Philology* will be, I hope, my last contribution to this controversy. Mr Grundy has sought to answer the criticisms I made upon his own advocacy of the Sanguineto site. My first task therefore is to consider how far he has been successful in that attempt. He also has criticised the method which, for reasons given, I adopted in the topographical enquiry. A few notes on this criticism therefore shall end this paper.

I. *The Objections to the Sanguineto Site, do they hold good?*

My three "difficulties of the site" in my first paper were classed under the heads of (1) the Πάροδος, (2) the Αὐλών, (3) the Lake-Camp. I proceed to consider in order how far Mr Grundy in his second paper has grappled with them successfully.

(1) The Πάροδος.

Originally Mr Grundy took as his πάροδος the low-lying ground supposed by him to exist in 217 B.C. round Point A, though now non-existent.

> "Flaminius...having marched due S. as far as the N.W. corner of L. Trasimene, i.e. to the neighbourhood of the modern Terontola, turned E. and passed round promontory A. It is quite possible that there was in those days low ground between the extremity of the ridge which ends in Pt. A. and the shore of the lake." (No. 47, p. 105.)

And this low-lying ground becomes for him an actuality, no longer a possibility only, on p. 109.

To this I made two objections, first that unless this ground existed there was no πάροδος, and I did not believe in the existence of this ground; second, that even had it existed it would be far too short to allow of a "great part" of the Roman army being trapped in it.

What now has happened in Mr Grundy's second paper? He first makes many valuable lacustrine protestations to show the passage very probably did exist. (No. 50, pp. 276—280.) After which he seems to me to develop a new theory, a new apprehension of the πάροδος. For his πάροδος is *not* now the passage *round* Point A, though he spends so much time in proving it may have existed, *but* it now seems to be the curving road which crosses over the top of the ridge and descends into the Sanguineto valley.

> "I agree," he says, "with the view that this part of the modern road is, in the main, on the line of the ancient one. Even now it goes as widely round Point A as the ground admits. When Point A extended further into the lake it probably took a still further curve lower down the slope, and, after rounding the point, bent, as indeed it does at the present day, nearly due N. under the E. slope of the ridge which runs down to Point A before turning E. towards Tuoro and Passignano. As the hill rises sharply above the line of road, I really do not see why this should not be the πάροδος to which Polybius refers." (No. 50, p. 282.)

And again:

> "It is, as a matter of physiography, infinitely more probable that the whole of the road under the slope of the ridge to the E. of Point A should be reckoned in as part of the πάροδος than that it should not." (ib. p. 287.)

That is, the πάροδος is now to consist, *not* of the strip of land running round and underneath Point A, *but* of the road where it winds round over and on the top of the ridge ending in Point A, plus the strip running Northwards when it has descended to the Sanguineto valley.

This is, I think, a change of view and a rather sudden one. Let me bury the old one with the, I still fear, unrepentant epitaph "Here lies a would-be *πάροδος*, too short to suit the facts."

Is the new *πάροδος* any better? I fear I cannot regard it as having any claim at all to the Polybian title of *πάροδος* or the Livian of a "via perangusta." Polybius says that the *αὐλών* had *κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς λίμνην τελείως στενὴν ἀπολείπουσαν πάροδον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν παρώρειαν.*" (III. 83. 1.) This new would-be *πάροδος* is up on a ridge above the lake and descends to the plain away from the lake. Can the Polybian *πάροδος* be found in a road on the slope of a certainly not precipitous hill, or again in it, when, farther on, it has the ridge on one side and the broad open plain on the other? We require for the *πάροδος* a long strip of narrow land, mountains on the one side, the lake on the other (cf. Polybius, III. 84. 5. Livy 22. 6. 6). Instead of this we now have offered us this road crossing a sloping ridge and descending into a valley. Again, I would urge, the Sanguineto site supplies no satisfactory *πάροδος*.

I fear Mr Grundy may object that still, as in my first paper, I say "The road whether from Terontola or Borghetto strikes over the hill ridge...and thus down over the brow into the Tuoro valley." On this he remarks:

> "Mr Henderson has apparently relied on his memory, and it has played him false. That is just what the road from Terontola or Borghetto does not do. It avoids the ridge as much as possible consistently with its not being carried through the lake. I append a tracing of the Italian Ordnance map, which will show clearly the nature of the case, and of the mistake. Mr Henderson would have done well to refer to a copy of it." (No. 50, p. 281.)

I shall be most happy to show Mr Grundy my own copy of the Italian Ordnance map, which I purchased in Perugia, which I consulted on every possible occasion in my investigations on the spot, as I can bring a brother-fellow to witness, which finally I had ever before me in writing my criticisms on

Mr Grundy's views. It is unfortunate Mr Grundy should have thought it necessary to append the tracing of it, so far of course only as my own benefit is concerned. It is still more unfortunate that in his reproduction he omits entirely the figures of altitude above sea-level marked plentifully upon the original. For upon this and upon this only, it now seems, our difference of testimony turns: viz.: Does this road cross the hill ridge or not? Mr Grundy replies "This is just what the road does not do." The following are the figures omitted in his map, the whole number of them as given in order:

(*a*) From Borghetto to that part of the road beneath Tuoro:—260 (at Borghetto), 308 (junction with main road), 307 (just over the railway tunnel), 306, 267, 265 (opposite Tuoro).

(The heights are in metres. Level of the Lake surface above the sea in like manner 259.)

(*b*) From Terontola to junction with Borghetto road: 312, 316, 317, 309, 302, 305, 308 (the junction), after which the road is the same as in (*a*).

From these figures it appears that (1) a traveller from Borghetto eastwards *is* bound to climb the ridge and descend the other side: while (2) at Terontola the road is already a considerable height above the railway-valley, and the traveller has to cross a depression of but some 50 feet in depth before reaching the top of the ridge. There he meets the wayfarer from Borghetto and with him descends the 130 feet into the Sanguineto valley.

> "The road whether from Terontola or Borghetto strikes over the hill ridge...and thus down over the brow into the Tuoro valley."

In view of the above figures, now for the first time given, will Mr Grundy persist in his "That is just what the road does not do"? Naturally it avoids the ridge as far as possible. But my point is that it *has* to cross it, and does cross it, and that if it crossed it in 217 B.C. even lower down, it does not answer in any way to the demands of Polybius' παρόδος, and

that therefore Mr Grundy's present view is no improvement on his former one.

Conclusion repeated: Difficulty in the Tuoro site,—absence of any *πάροδος*.

(2) *The* Αὐλών:—

The Sanguineto valley, I argued, could not be the *αὐλών* of the Polybian narrative for several reasons. I take them up again with Mr Grundy's comments thereon in order.

(*a*) No. 49, pp. 117, 118. The Tuoro site involved us in a mistranslation of Polybius. For its advocates "differentiated and made two peaks of what Polybius—I venture to assert—unmistakeably describes as one and the same."

Mr Grundy replies in effect simply by a flat denial. The λόφος of III. 83. 1 and the λόφος of III. 83. 2 are not one and the same, but are two distinct peaks.

The question seems then partly to be one of differing tastes in a point of scholarship or language. Speaking for myself only I cannot think Polybius' language in the two consecutive sections leaves us any reasonable choice. The λόφος of § 2 must be the λόφος of § 1. The question is one of individual taste and judgment, and for myself I cannot but think Mr Grundy is again misled by his "rotatory-observer" theories.

On the other hand, when Mr Grundy charges me with undue reticence in this matter, I must venture to make an appeal to his good-nature. "Surely," he says, "if Mr Henderson uses so strong a word as 'mistranslation' in reference to the interpretation which I have put upon this passage, he should have given us his own view on the subject. I think he will find that any other interpretation than the one given renders the passage wholly incomprehensible." (p. 286.)

I must venture to refer Mr Grundy to my own view on the question of this λόφος which I endeavoured to set forth in the second, the constructive, part of my earlier paper, especially to pages 125 (2) and 128 (3) of the same. I am aware, as I am somewhat an admirer of Dr Arnold, that Mr Grundy "cannot seriously discuss" my alternative site, i.e. the constructive part of my paper. Sanguineto, it seems, *has* got to be the place.

But if I may trespass on his good-nature, may I refer him to my view, already published, on the position and identity of the λόφος?

(*b*) The direction of the Roman march and the position of the Carthaginian troops. (Cf. No. 49, p. 118.)

I asserted that Polybius made this clear and definite statement, viz.: that the Romans were trapped while marching *through* the *αὐλών*. By this I certainly meant and still mean "traversing from end to end" as Mr Grundy expounds me (p. 283). The Polybian word is '*διελθεῖν*.' All agree that if this be the case it is at once fatal to the claims of the Sanguineto *αὐλών*. For the Romans most certainly did *not* 'traverse it from end to end.'

Mr Grundy's way of escape is to translate *διελθεῖν* as "pass across the end, face, or mouth of." His actual words are "It does not seem to demand so strict an interpretation" (i.e. as mine). He invokes Schmidt to support his view that "the obvious translation seems to be that they traversed...the mouth of the hollow from side to side." (p. 283.)

But is it probable, is it even possible, that *διελθεῖν* = durchschreiten, durchwandern, durch etwas gelangen etc., when applied to a valley, a channel- or pipe-shaped valley, can mean "pass across the mouth of"? Shall we apply this translation elsewhere?

> "*καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν μὴ ἀθρόοις καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνασι διελθεῖν τὴν πολεμίαν.*"

Was it a hard emprise for the Peloponnesians to skirt round the hostile territory of Mantinea?

> "*τῇ ῥ' ὅ γε δινεύουσαν ὑπὸ πτέρυγος βάλε μέσσην,*
> *ἀντικρὺ δὲ διῆλθε βέλος· τὸ μὲν ἂψ ἐπὶ γαίῃ*
> *πρόσθεν Μηριόναο πάγη ποδός.*"

The dove sank to earth to find its lost tail-feather? In all seriousness, neither Schmidt nor Mr Grundy has yet persuaded me to attach this extraordinary meaning to a straightforward Greek word.

If then this be so, argues Mr Grundy,

"A difficulty immediately arises with regard to the meaning of the words *παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*. The obvious translation etc....and this accords with Polybius' description (III. 83) of the *αὐλών* as having the lake *κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς* (*πλευράν*)." (p. 283.)

This I admit seems a difficulty and is most justifiably raised. But I would submit that a far greater difficulty in the way of the Tuoro site, viz. the question of the position of Hannibal's troops in ambush, taken in connection with this question of traversing the *αὐλών*, may throw some light on the problem. I must again call attention to this point, on which Mr Grundy seems to look somewhat askance.

Hannibal laid his ambush thus: On the hill ridge *κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας* he himself encamped with the Spaniards and Libyans. Then says Polybius most definitely that he stationed his Baliaric troops and pikemen in a long line under the hill ridge which formed the right-hand side of the *αὐλών*: that in like manner he posted his cavalry and the Gauls in a continuous line on the opposite side of the *αὐλών*, i.e. by the hills on its left-hand side, so that the end of this line of troops reached as far as the narrow entrance to the *αὐλών* beside the lake. Thus Hannibal "set an ambush all round the *αὐλών*," and when the Romans had entered and were marching through the death-trap the foe fell upon them "from all sides at once."

That there may be no mistake concerning the position of the troops I give again Polybius' own words:—

*Ἀννίβας...διελθὼν τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς κατελάβετο καὶ τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς δὲ Βαλιαρεῖς καὶ λογχοφόρους κατὰ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν ἐκπεριάγων ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐν δεξιᾷ βουνοὺς τῶν παρὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα κειμένων, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατείνας ὑπέστειλε, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὁμοίως τῶν εὐωνύμων βουνῶν κύκλῳ περιαγαγὼν παρεξέτεινε συνεχεῖς, ὥστε τοὺς ἐσχάτους εἶναι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν*

εἴσοδον τὴν παρά τε τὴν λίμνην καὶ τὰς παρωρείας φέρουσαν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας, ταῦτα προκατασκευασάμενος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ περιειληφὼς τὸν αὐλῶνα ταῖς ἐνέδραις, τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. (III. 83. 2—5.)

Then on entry of the Romans

Ἀννίβας ἅμα τῷ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πορείας εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα προσδέξασθαι καὶ συνάπτειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πρωτοπορείαν, ἀποδοὺς τὰ συνθήματα καὶ διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις, συνεπεχείρει πανταχόθεν ἅμα τοῖς πολεμίοις. (III. 84. 1.)

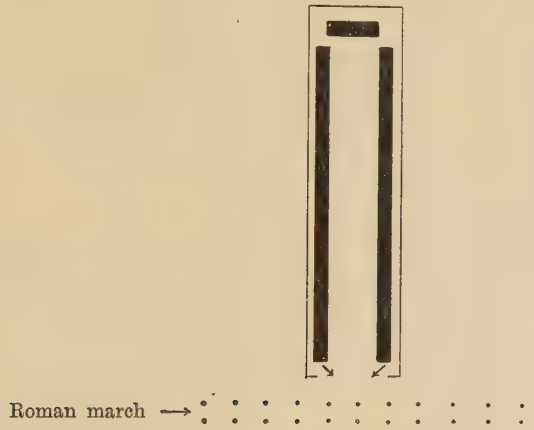
Therefore I repeat now what I maintained in my first paper, viz. that this description of the position of Hannibal's troops is at once and by itself fatal to the Tuoro site.

> "Hannibal," as I wrote, "can hardly have made this disposition to allow his troops to see (in deference to Mr Grundy's anxiety about the mist I now substitute 'to hear') the foe marching cheerfully away at right angles to their own line of ambush, but to cause them to fall upon the Romans as these were passing by unsuspecting in the morning mist beside and beneath them. But on the Tuoro theory the Romans were marching, not through, but simply across the mouth of, the Sanguineto *αὐλών*, and moreover on neither flank had they any mountain-slopes. For on their right flank lay the lake, and on their left the broad level Sanguineto valley." (No. 49, p. 118.)

On the Tuoro theory, I say again, the Roman centre extending for some 3 kilometers between the point A ridge and the Tuoro hill is "embarrassed by nothing save the noise of battle in the distance." (p. 121.)

This is the Polybian representation of the trap in the *αὐλών*:—

And this is Mr Grundy's:—




Apart from any question of the meaning of Greek prepositions, this difficulty as to the position of Hannibal's troops in ambush is surely enough to make the translation of διελθὼν "traversing from end to end." For it is of course clear that Hannibal would never have laid a useless ambush such as that represented in my second diagram. Yet this supposition is necessary if we keep both (1) the Sanguineto αὐλών and (2) the Polybian description of the ambush. For myself therefore I still propose to reject (1) of our pair of opposites, and keeping (2) to search—as I have done—for another αὐλών which shall not plunge us in this boggy and hopeless dilemma.

This point I already raised in my first paper, perhaps somewhat too briefly. Yet my meaning seemed to me, and still seems, there plainly expressed. What means of escape from the above dilemma does Mr Grundy now propose?

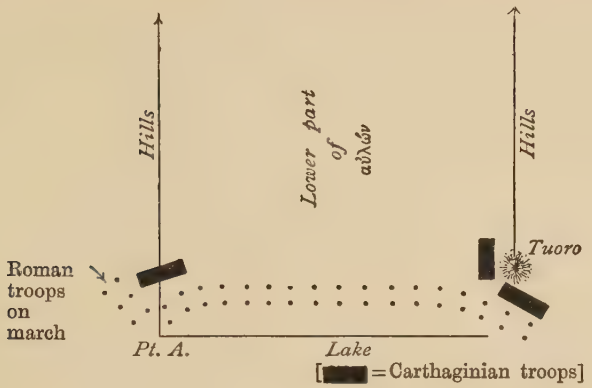
This is the explanation he offers:—

> "The details which Polybius gives as to the actual position of the Carthaginian forces on the battle-field cannot be said to carry the same weight as his description of the ground. Nor indeed is this surprising etc. etc....

> My own view, which will, I think, be shared by those who take into account the circumstances under which the battle was fought, and the possibilities as regards information which lay open to Polybius, is that the description which he gives of the ground is eminently more reliable than the description of the actual fighting." (No. 50, p. 284.)

That is, quite simply, even though Mr Grundy "does not wish it to be supposed that he is arguing for the rejection of" the Polybian description of the disposition of Hannibal's troops, I am unfortunately quite unable to see that he is arguing for anything else. That is, in the above dilemma, Mr Grundy keeps his Sanguineto *αὐλών*. Therefore he rejects, as I fear logic drives him to reject, the Polybian description of the ambush.

For the believer in the Sanguineto *αὐλών* must represent the position of affairs at the moment of attack somewhat as follows. The Roman van is about to pass underneath, or possibly, accepting Mr Grundy's *very* latest theory (No. 50, p. 289), about to climb, the Tuoro hill. The Roman rear is coming down over the point A ridge and also occupies the road under its Eastern brow. The Roman centre occupies the three kilometers separating these positions. Hannibal has men posted on the Tuoro hill and thus "the head of the Roman column...would be charged obliquely in front and flank by an enemy descending from the hill of Tuoro." (G., p. 287.) Similarly Hannibal has, I must suppose, posted other troops higher up the point A ridge. These will charge the tail of the Roman column in flank and rear. But it is clear all the troops between on the level and broad Sanguineto *αὐλών* are in no immediate danger. There can be no ambushed foeman to right or to left of these. This, I need hardly insist, is an entirely new view of the battle. It may be represented in diagram thus (cf. Mr Grundy's own map, No. 47, to face p. 89).




Now this theory seems to me even from a military point of view somewhat unsatisfactory. As I said at first "In the broad open valley by Tuoro, where there was ample room for military formation, the Romans surely might have made a more successful fight against inferior numbers." (No. 49, p. 129.) Whereas according to Polybius they were taken at a hopeless disadvantage, and this would have been the case on the site I ventured to prefer before this of Sanguineto. How also, on the above theory, did Hannibal secure the connection between the two divisions of his army?

But we are not to pay any regard to Polybius, we are practically told. "I think it will be admitted" says Mr Grundy in another place "that Polybius' evidence as to the exact disposition of these troops cannot be placed on the same level as his purely topographical matter, which he could obtain (and did obtain, I believe) by autopsy." (No. 50, p. 283.)

Therefore because Polybius could not have seen the battle, when he gives the clearest possible statements as to the position of Hannibal's troops, they are to be en bloc rejected in favour of a totally different picture of events.

Let us return now to Mr Grundy's difficulty, that while Hannibal marched through the *αὐλὼν* "*παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*," yet the *αὐλών* had hills on both sides. Now it is noteworthy that much the same problem faces us in two passages of Livy, already described in my first paper (p. 125), in one of which

(Livy 22. 5. 6) the lake lies on one side of the Roman advance: in the other (22. 4. 7), the Romans are attacked on both sides. In my former paper I already proposed a solution of the difficulty, which seemed to me adequately satisfied by the Passignano-Montecolognola site. Although again in the constructive part of my paper, I fear I must refer Mr Grundy to that page 125. And now another passage of Livy may be perhaps invoked. The Roman historian describes the ground as follows:

"via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. ibi castra in aperto locat etc." (XXII. 4. 2.)

Now in my last paper I openly confessed that there seemed to me one crying deficiency in the Passignano-Montecolognola site, though of course this was still better than the Sanguineto site which was chiefly composed of crying deficiencies. The one blemish in question was *not* that the site did not exhibit an *αὐλών*. Somewhat over-hastily Mr Grundy asserts I confessed there was on my site "no *αὐλών*." (No. 50, p. 273.) May I plead my words, I think plainly printed?

"There is indeed a small *αὐλών*... but this most certainly is not *ἐπίπεδος*." (No. 49, p. 129.)

The argument against my site seemed to me strong. Must it be mixed with hurried and unintentional misrepresentation to make it stronger? But the blemish was that the *αὐλών* in question is not *ἐπίπεδος* as Polybius requires.

After my first paper was in print I discovered that the Passignano-Montecolognola site was that selected by Colonel Dodge in his "Hannibal." This was so far satisfactory. To my surprise I found also that he was haunted by no phantom of an escaping *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος*. This was perplexing. Where the hills retire from the lake and the valley broadens out to a breadth of half to three-quarters of a mile, as described in my previous paper (p. 127), there it seems Colonel Dodge placed the end of his *πάροδος* and the beginning of his *αὐλών*. Livy

most clearly says the 'campus' was only 'paulo latior' than the 'via perangusta,' another flaw in his site which Mr Grundy I do not think notices in his second paper.

Now as the *αὐλών* must have hills on both sides, Colonel Dodge's effort seemed to me rather perplexing than convincing. But on the last of my re-perusals of Livy, the words I have quoted above struck me forcibly. Livy says in effect—first comes the *πάροδος*; next the *αὐλών*, only a little broader; and *then* (*inde*) rise up the hills. On the hills (ibi) Hannibal pitches his camp.

Surely then the hills come at the top end of the *αὐλών* and the road *does* have to climb the hill. Perhaps my "much good sarcasm" was not "wasted" after all. (Cf. Mr Grundy, p. 287.) But more is gained than this. May I boldly now suggest, with great regrets I did not so devise it before, that this *αὐλών did* begin half-way on the road to Torricella; that here it *is* *ἐπίπεδος*; but that at its upper end it turned up into the hills, and these on both sides were lined with the foe? Therefore Polybius rightly says Hannibal traversed the *αὐλών* "*παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*." Therefore he rightly says that while the slingers and pikemen were posted on the right of the *αὐλών* (and there he leaves them), the cavalry and Gauls, surely a greater number, were posted on the left in a long continuous line. And it is *these* who stretch so far that they close the opening of the *πάροδος*. If then the hills on the Northern or left side of the *αὐλών* ['right' and 'left' are naturally taken from the view of the advancing soldier], if these hills stretch farther than those on the Southern or right side, Hannibal's disposition of his troops is fully explained. This is exactly the case on the Passignano-Montecolognola site. And I would dare to recall, with all thanks to Polybius and his *παρὰ τὴν λίμνην* and to Mr Grundy for insisting on these words, and with all thanks to Livy and his "inde colles insurgunt," and to Colonel Dodge for being first cause of the idea, I dare to recall my conclusion that the "Passignano-Montecolognola" site "satisfies all the essentials but one. For it has no *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος*." (No. 49, p. 130.) For, I indulge myself in the hope, this last essential may even yet perhaps be satisfied. And to myself at

least it gives more pleasure because again we have made our way with the aid of both Polybius and Livy.

This then remains my opinion, that for this second reason the Sanguineto *αὐλών* is impossible, firstly because the Romans did not "traverse it from end to end," secondly because it involves the entire rejection of Polybius' account of the disposition of the Carthaginian troops. I cannot think Mr Grundy has been happy in combating the first and accepting (in effect, though unwilling to say so) the second conclusion. Further, incidentally it has appeared that perhaps after all we may yet find an *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος* on the rival site, which I fear may presently end in some "foolish dogmatism" on my own part.

(*c*) The loftiness of the *αὐλών*'s sides and its breadth. Mr Grundy avers the hills of the Sanguineto site are lofty enough. It is a small point and I have no wish to say a "military writer of the present day" would not so describe them. How could I prove it, if I were to make any such exceedingly rash assertion? At least Mr Grundy will now grant me that the *αὐλών* hill-sides on my site are a good deal more lofty.

The difficulty of the breadth of the Sanguineto *αὐλών* I have again alluded to above, and dwelt on in my former paper (p. 119). I cannot find that Mr Grundy considers this difficulty.

(*d*) The Roman Vanguard.

In my first paper I suggested that according to Polybius the six thousand Romans in the vanguard climbed a hill, cut their way through the foe, and so temporarily escaped. And I objected that there was no hill on the Sanguineto site to be climbed. "Unless," I added, "the lake in 217 B.C. reached also the base of the spur on which the village of Tuoro lies, and this has not yet been imagined." (No. 49, p. 119.)

Mr Grundy seems embarrassed by a choice of answers to this criticism. On one page he argues that the Romans did not have to climb a hill at all:

> "That author (i.e. Polybius) further says (III. 84. 2): *καὶ τῶν πολεμίων* (sc. the Carthaginians) *κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους*

*ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου καταφερομένων καὶ προσπιπτόντων.* If this means anything surely it means that the Carthaginians charged down hill on the Roman column. So the latter would not have to climb at all" (p. 287).

On the last page of his paper he suggests what, when I wrote, I said truly "has not yet been imagined," viz. that in 217 B.C. the lake *did* reach the foot of the Tuoro spur—and therefore I infer he would argue there *was* a hill even on his site for the vanguard to climb:

> "I am even bold enough.....to say that on the evidence we have at present before us, it is more likely that the road in 217 had to traverse at any rate the south slope of Tuoro hill than that it had not" (p. 289).

It is a pity surely that these answers of Mr Grundy are somewhat inconsistent one with the other. Separately, either is doubtless a possible reply. Put together, I fear the whole effect somewhat suffers.

They deserve however separate consideration.

With regard to the second, I am quite ready to bow before Mr Grundy's authority on such a question, it being purely one of physiography, and not concerning in any way the credence or translation of our historical authorities. And I admit at once that, granted the lake did reach the Tuoro hill in 217 B.C., my original objection vanishes. On this one point Mr Grundy has cleared his site of the suspicion I cast upon it. At the same time I must think that my original criticism was a fair one, inasmuch as in his first paper Mr Grundy had *not* advanced the theory he is now prepared to hold. My criticism at least has been able to produce this new physiographical judgement, and thus having served some good may be buried in peace.

I must think Mr Grundy wise in changing his defence thus rapidly, in (almost) two consecutive pages. For his first defence does not appeal to me. It is a question of what Polybius says and implies. Let him tell his own tale:

> *ἑξακισχίλιοι δ' ἴσως τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον νικήσαντες παραβοηθεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ περιίστασθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἠδυνάτουν, διὰ τὸ*

*μηδὲν συνορᾶν τῶν γινομένων, καίπερ μεγάλην δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὅλα παρέχεσθαι χρείαν· αἰεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρόσθεν ὀρεγόμενοι προῆγον πεπεισμένοι συμπεσεῖσθαί τισιν, ἕως ἔλαθον ἐκπεσόντες πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους. γενόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τῆς ὀμίχλης ἤδη πεπτωκυίας, συνέντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἀτύχημα, καὶ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ὄντες ἔτι δυνατοὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ πάντα προκατέχειν ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους, συστραφέντες ἀπεχώρησαν εἴς τινα κώμην Τυρρηνίδα.*

(III. 84. 11—13.)

On this I said in my paper:

> "The Romans in Polybius do climb a hill, find the foe on the top, force their way through, climb yet higher above the mist, and look thence down upon the scene of massacre." (p. 120.)

This is, I admit, at first sight possibly somewhat unfortunately worded, but not in the least for Mr Grundy's reason. On this sentence he says:

> "The wording of the last sentence is unfortunate. Those Romans, unless very keen-sighted, ought to have looked down upon the mist." (No. 50, p. 286.)

May I, if it be not rude, ask Mr Grundy "to read Polybius' account carefully," since he accuses me of not doing so? May I ask him to translate the sentence from *γενόμενοι δ'* to *ἀτύχημα*? Livy says exactly the same (22. 6. 8—10), but the present point of contention is Polybius' account. Does not then Polybius say that these 6000 climb a hill: '*γενόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων*': that the mist is by that time cleared away, "*τῆς ὀμίχλης ἤδη πεπτωκυίας*": that the 6000 then "*συνέντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἀτύχημα κ.τ.λ.*"—does Mr Grundy still object to my paraphrase "look thence down upon the scene of massacre"?

Similarly I am at an entire loss to understand what Mr Grundy can possibly mean by a mysterious "sic" appended thus:

> "Mr Henderson then proceeds...by quoting Polybius' (sic) account of the Roman 6000 who cut their way through." (p. 286.)

Is it not Polybius' account from ἑξακισχίλιοι to Τυρρηνίδα? And I gave the reference, and Mr Grundy quotes it from my paper in his very next line!

The wording of my sentence, I admit, might perhaps seem unfortunate, not for Mr Grundy's reason, but for this: Though Hannibal stationed his men on the top of the intercepting ridge, yet these through whom the van cut their way may all have been some of those who charged down on the Romans, and my sentence did not provide for this contingency. Yet was even this really the case? Polybius says (III. 84. 1) Hannibal gave the signal for attack "ἅμα τῷ...συνάπτειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πρωτοπορείαν."

And Polybius had previously said "τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς κατελάβετο." (III. 83. 2.) In view of this I am afraid I must still think it more probable that while the foe on the sides of the *αὐλών* and *πάροδος* rushed down upon the Romans, this did not happen till the Roman van *had* climbed the hill in front and come in touch with—*συνάπτειν πρὸς*—the Carthaginians blocking the way on top. And I would now add, to close this question, that:

> "On the theory of the Tuoro site there existed no hill for the Romans to climb. Unless indeed the lake in 217 B.C. reached also the base of the spur on which the village of Tuoro lies. This *has* now been imagined. If this were the case, and let us accept it on Mr Grundy's authority, such a hill did exist on the site, and the objection falls to the ground."

Let us also all read Polybius carefully.

These then are my conclusions after reading Mr Grundy's defence of the Sanguineto *αὐλών*: that at least four essentials of the *αὐλών* of the Polybian and Livian accounts are lacking to it. For

(*a*) It involves a mistranslation of Polybius.

(*b*) i. The Romans could not "traverse it from end to end."

ii. It involves the rejection of well-nigh the entire Polybian account of the disposition of Hannibal's forces.

(*c*) It is far too broad.

As much as I can possibly admit is that perhaps its hills might be called lofty, and perhaps the Romans (on this theory) had the Tuoro hill to climb. I do not think these admissions will satisfy Mr Grundy. The first is very trifling. And the second results from a *new* theory of his, which did not exist in his first, and is not even consistently advocated in his second, paper. I am quite sure they do not convince me that to choose the Sanguineto site is anything but a most grievous error.

3. *The Lake-Camp Difficulty*:—

I said in my previous paper:

> "If the ancient road ran as does the modern, the Roman army first reached the lake at the mouth of the Sanguineto valley. There they encamped, to march on next morning and find the 'angustiae' to surpass beyond Tuoro."
>
> (p. 114.)

I also at once admitted that, if the ancient road on the other hand ran *viâ* Borghetto, this objection vanishes. But I maintained this would have been "a long and surely unnecessary détour." (p. 114, cf. p. 121.)

Mr Grundy replies:

> "The road at the present day does not reach the lake for the first time E. of point A, but W. of it, therefore the argument with regard to the lake-camp difficulty is unfounded" (No. 50, p. 281—2),

and appeals to the map.

After the figures given in the earlier part of this paper, I hope it may be clear that where the road reaches the lake W. of point *A*, it is up on the top of a ridge. Unless we suppose the Romans encamped in that position, which seems to me unlikely, as they would have needed water for themselves and their horses, the above argument holds entirely good. The first place where the road reaches the shore of the lake where the Romans could encamp was E. of point *A*, at the mouth of the

Sanguineto valley. I must apologise for not making my meaning plain enough in my first paper.

4. *The Passignano-Montecolognola site:*

This Mr Grundy "cannot seriously discuss." I must regret this. It is not as though I were its first and only champion. It seems to me now to satisfy in a marvellous manner all the essential requirements, even possibly that of the *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος*. I should have welcomed a criticism from Mr Grundy upon it to test the grounds and strength of my confidence in it. The Tuoro site lacks almost every essential: the alternative, I think, does not.

## II. *The Question of Method.*

I proposed in my paper to construct first an *à priori* plan of the battle out of our historians, and next to visit the ground to see if a site could be found answering to this. I admitted at once this method was dangerous and needed careful handling. I pointed out its dangers.

But I proposed to try it because the rival method "from a pre-selected site to the historians" seemed to me, though so favourite a device, to end in disaster. This I still believe. I have seen Mr Grundy employ it with the lake Trasimene, and Francesco Tarducci with the Metaurus, battle. Neither result was encouraging.

I employed therefore the other method. It led to a site, different from Mr Grundy's, and not itself, I then confessed, entirely satisfactory. Still it did not labour under so many disadvantages as the child of the rival method. And it seemed to me to possess this further advantage, viz. that it began, rather than finished, with our historians, that it paid them all possible deference, that it steadfastly preferred their testimony to conflicting theories based on their devisers' imagination of probability and constructive genius.

Now Mr Grundy kindly explains to me at length (pp. 273—275) that herein exactly lies, all unsuspected by me, the viciousness of my method. Let me close with one example. For unrepentant I still prefer, if I must err, to err on the side

of the vicious excess of confidence in our historians than on that of the virtuous excess of an ever-suspicious scepticism, especially when this is used in support of some cherished theory—e.g. a pre-selected battle-site.

I then found Polybius describing a valley, and supposed, as he gave me no warning of any sudden change in his point of view, that this last remained constant. This was placing confidence in the historian.

Mr Grundy was champion of a battle-site which requires us (as of course I admit) to believe that Polybius without warning changes his point of view from *A* to *B* and then from *B* back again to *A* all in *what is one part of one single sentence.* This is perhaps placing but small confidence in the historian.

> "Polybius' original description of the ground is taken from...the position of one...looking up the valley. In describing Hannibal's movements he speaks from the standpoint of one looking...*across* the valley, not up it. ...He then returns to the original standpoint...."
>
> (No. 47, p. 108.)

This "confusion of description" Mr Grundy thinks "more likely" because Polybius had himself visited the ground.

And Polybius treats himself like an active Reversi-counter in this way in part of one single sentence, viz. III. 83. 1—3. A long sentence it is true, but surely Polybius might have had the grace to mark his changes in the point of view at least only by consecutive sentences.

This is the necessary result of Mr Grundy's method of enquiry, plus a pre-selected site.

If I refuse to credit Polybius with the tendencies and practice of a swiftly-swinging pendulum, I am told I make an unfair demand of him for "almost superhuman precision," that "Common-sense" approves the pendulum-theory and Mr Grundy's *à priori* method, 'from the pre-selected site to the historians. If these do not agree with the selection, tant pis pour eux. They shall be discredited. The site remains victorious.' For myself, I can but say that *if* this be the

method required of one who pursues such topographical investigations, I relinquish for the future all and every such investigations. I will believe Polybius, and not look at the results of enquiries conducted on this principle of 'From choice of site to books.' I can but trust that when the need arises I can exercise a critical faculty on our historians' trustworthiness. Not Mr Grundy would repudiate with more eagerness a blind faith in the litera scripta. But what I do think is that to reject this, to criticise a historian, simply in the interests of a pre-conceived theory or site, is the most fatal practice possible in historical enquiry.

We have wandered away from Trasimene. Still the two sites stand opposed. May he who next boldly enters the lists of warfare, which I quit, have at least also this compensation for the weariness of battle, the memory of rock-perched far-seen Cortona and of the blue waters of the lake.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON.

## ORPHICA.

## II.

### Lithica.

213. *ἁγνίζειν μὲν πρῶτον ἐποιχόμενος περὶ πάσας.*

As *ἐποίχεσθαι* and *περὶ* go very badly together, we should perhaps read *πυρὶ* for *περί*.

230. For *ἔχοντας* read *ἔχοντα*.

326. *θυμὸν ἀπειρεσίης φυγέειν ἔριδος ποθέοντε.*

*θυμὸν ἔριδος* cannot be right; is *οἶμον* the genuine word? At 328 read *ἔχων* for *ἄγων*, and at 336 *ὅδ'* for *ὅγ'*.

347. *αὐτοκασιγνήτη πολιῆς καὶ ὁμώνυμ' ἐχίδνης.*

An *ἔχιδνα* is not *πολιή*; read *δολίης*. And so at 397 *δόλιον γένος* is to be read for *πολιὸν γένος* (*Journ. Phil.* vol. XX., p. 119).

381. *χρὴ δέ σε τετληῶτι νόῳ αἰνέμεν αἰεί.*

*ἐπακουέμεν* Abel, but the hiatus is awkward, the change rather violent and the sense not quite satisfactory. I should suggest *μάλα σαινέμεν*. There is a sort of stone which talks if properly treated—you swaddle it like a baby and walk about nursing it. *σαίνειν* is the verb which seems most appropriate for this process.

382. *ἠπεδανοῖο λυθεὶς ὑπὸ δείματος.*

Read *πευκεδανοῖο*; Bernard similarly corrects *ἠπεδανῶν* at 500, with the applause of Gesner. *Here ἠπεδανοῖο* is explained

to mean "weakening"; why not then at 500? Either both must be altered or neither.

432. *ἀμφὶ κυνηγεσίῃσι μένων ἐν τάρφεσιν Ἴδης.*

Read *ἐνὶ* for two reasons. The Homeric phrase is *ἐνί*, not *ἐν*, and the poet of the *Lithica* does not lengthen by position a syllable *in thesi* except at the end of the first foot and very rarely at the end of the second. At 579 it is true Abel gives *ἐς δῆριν ἰόντα*, but the right reading is *εἰς*. Modern editors perversely change *εἰς* to *ἐς* in this position in late hexameters; they ought to do precisely the opposite.

524. *ἔνθα δ' ἄρ' ἐξαπίνης μιν ἀναπτεύσασαν ὑπ' αἴθρην*
*βάζουσ', οἵπερ ἴδοντο, κρατυνομένην ὁράασθαι.*

Coral first grows as a plant, then withers and is washed about till the waves *ἀποπτύσῃ αἰγιαλόνδε*. There it hardens into stone. The end of 524 is given by Abel as *ἀναπλησθεῖσαν ὑπ' αἴθρης*, which I do not understand. The old correction was *ἀναπλεύσασαν ὑπ' αἴθρην*, not much better. Read *ἀναπτυσθεῖσαν*, which is simply a repetition of the *ἀποπτύσῃ* of the previous line.

572. *τὴν μὲν ἄρα χροίην ἐξ αἵματος ἔσχεν ἐρυθρήν,*
*ἀμφασίη δ' ἥρωα λάβε θρασύν.*

Perseus laid down the Gorgon's head on the grass, which was turned to stone (coral) by the blood. The coral *μὲν* got a red colour from the blood, Perseus *δὲ* was astonished. But *τὴν χροίην* cannot be right considering the position of *ἐρυθρήν*, and we want some better antithesis with *μὲν* and *δέ*, as foreshadowed above. Read *ἡ μὲν ἄρα*. The subject is *βοτάνη*.

*χροίην* is itself an emendation of Gesner's for *χρονίην*.

578. *ἐν δὲ βίην οἱ δῶκεν ἀπειρεσίην Ἀγελείη*
*φῦλα φυλασσέμεναι κρυερὴν εἰς δῆριν ἰόντα,*
*ἢ δολιχὴν ἕρπων ἐς ἀταρπιτὸν εἴ μιν ἔχει τις,*
*ἢ περόων ἅλα δῖαν.*

One piece of coral cannot protect *φῦλα*, and from the succeeding lines it is clear that the poet is thinking of individuals. *φῦλα* then is due to dittography and has displaced the real word, which no doubt was *ἄνδρα*.

676. *ἔντεσι δῆριν θεῖναι ἀμύμονος ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος.*

As I have said before, the poet rarely lengthens a syllable by position in the thesis of the second foot. And when he does it is a monosyllable; besides this line I think there are only two instances of such scansion with a polysyllable. Hence we must here go back to the old reading *δηρινθῆναι*.

The corruption was apparently natural enough. The scholiast on Lycophron 440 preserves four verses of Euphorion in this form:

> *Πύραμον ἠχήεντα· πόλιν δ' ἐκτήσατο μᾶλλον,*
> *ἧς πέρι δῆριν θέντες καταφράδες ἀλλήλοισι*
> *Μόψος Ἀντίλοχός τε καὶ ἄρκια δῆριν θέντες*
> *μούναξ ἀλήστοιο πύλας ἔβαν Ἀϊδωνῆος,*

where it is obvious that *δηρινθέντες* must be read in the third line. Nauck in latter days similarly corrupts Π 756, *δηρινθήτην* to *δῆριν ἐθέσθην*, which can hardly be right as it involves an augmented dual. That *δηρινθήτην* was the ordinary reading of antiquity (though Eustathius says *δηρινθῆναι κατά τινας, μάλιστα δὲ δηριθῆναι*) appears alike from our MSS of Homer, Apollonius Rhodius II 16 (referred to by Leeuwen and Costa), and the passages above.

681. *τοὔνεκα θεσπέσιόν μιν ἀνὴρ ἀθέριζεν ὄνειαρ*
*λάζετο δ' οὔλιον ἆορ.*

Such a use of *μιν* is not to be matched from this poem; read *θεσπέσιον μὲν*, which also brings out the antithesis more clearly.

## III.

### Hymns.

IV (*Νυκτός*) 3.

*κλῦθι μάκαιρα θεά, κυναυγές, ἀστεροφεγγές.*

Read *κυναυγέτις*, which is every way better than *κυναυγής*.

IX (Σελήνης) 11.

> *ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', εὔφρων, εὐάστερε, φέγγεϊ τῷ σῷ λαμπομένη.*

That *τῷ σῷ* cannot be right seems clear enough. To address the moon of all goddesses as lighted by her *own* light would be unscientific enough to shock any poet, and as for the poetry of the words the less said the better. Perhaps the original was *τρισσῷ*. For as the moon was worshipped under a triple aspect, so her light also might be called triple. And Milton says of the moon (*P. L.* iii 732):

> With borrowed *light her countenance triform*
> Hence fills and empties, to enlighten the Earth,
> And in her pale dominion checks the night.

XXXIII 2. For *λύει* read *λύεις*.

XXXVIII (Κουρήτων) 20.

> *Κουρῆτες Κορύβαντές, ἀνάκτορες εὐδύνατοί τε ἐν Σαμοθρήκῃ ἄνακτες, ὁμοῦ Διὸς κόροι αὐτοί, πνοιαὶ ἀέναοι.*

The accepted alteration is *ὁμοῦ Ζηνὸς κόροι αὐτοί*, but it gives no grammar, perhaps no sense.

At *Hymn* XXIX 5 Lennep has changed *Διὸς* to *Δηοῦς*, Hecate was daughter of Deo (frag. 219, 260), and Hecate and Deo were connected with the Curetes. Hence read *ὅπου Δηοῦς κόρη ἁγνή* or *ὁμοῦ Δηοῦς κόρῃ ἁγνῇ*; I prefer the former. Then *πνοιαὶ* is in apposition to *Κουρῆτες* and all is smooth.

*ἁγνὴ* seems to me necessary, for *αὐτὴ* is pointless. I have somewhere else seen the same correction, but cannot remember where. At *Hymns* XLIV 2 and XLVI 6 Pierson has emended *παρ' αὐτῆς* and *πρός τ' αὐτήν* to *παρ' ἀγαυῆς* and *πρὸς ἀγαυήν*. Several times in Homer *αὖτις* has been corrupted to some form of *αὐτός*; in fact it is a very cuckoo of a word.

XLIV (Σεμέλης) 8.

> *ἠνίκα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδῖνα τελῶσιν.*

Read Βάκχαι, and compare Dinner's Βάκχαις for Βάκχοις at LIV 6.

LXIII (Δικαιοσύνης) 5.

ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδός· ἀεὶ θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας.

Read τὸ σὸν εἶδος.

LXIV (Νόμου) 5.

οἷσιν (νόμοις) ἄνωθε φέρων μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸς ὀδεύει
καὶ φθόνον οὐ δίκαιον ῥοίζου τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει.

Wiel, followed by Abel, reads οὐτιδανὸν for οὐ δίκαιον and ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνει. But this ejection of φθόνος from the chorus of the gods, though it may be Platonic, is quite out of keeping in this hymn, and οὐτιδανὸν is in a wrong key. I shall be audacious and propose:

καὶ πόλον ἠλίβατον ῥόμβου τρόπον.

It seems to me quite plain that neither φθόνον nor οὐ δίκαιον nor ῥοίζου will stand. I take it that ἠλίβατον being once corrupted to οὐ δίκαιον by whatever stages (and there is not one of the changes involved which is not familiar enough), then πόλον οὐ δίκαιον was obviously absurd and so φθόνον was put in instead, as something evidently "unjust" and a likely enough word to occur to an ingenuous scribe who took no thought of the general context. As for ῥοίζου, what does it mean? Both ῥοῖζος and ῥόμβος are common in these Hymns, though nowhere else confused. But look at IV 4, where Uranus himself is thus addressed:

οἷκε θεῶν μακάρων, ῥόμβου δίνῃσιν ὀδεύων,

and compare VIII 7: ῥόμβου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασιν οἶμον ἐλαύνων (spoken of the Sun).

It is much in favour of Wiel that he gets rid of the double αὐτός; they can hardly both be right, though not perhaps impossible.

LXVI (Ἡφαίστου) 9.

σώματά τε θνητῶν οἰκεῖς, πολύολβε, κραταιέ.

Surely Hephaestus cannot be said to dwell in the bodies of

mortals. Read δώματα ; the two words are sometimes confused, as at *Lithica* 318, *Bacchae* 217, 599.

And again, the last two lines of this Hymn run in our text :

παῦσον λυσσῶσαν μανίην πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
καῦσιν ἔχων φύσεως ἐν σώμασιν ἡμετέροισιν,

where read παῦσιν ἔχων and δώμασιν again. For παῦσιν ἔχειν compare LXXXI 2 and LXXXV 5, where ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν is a mere periphrasis for παύειν. It seems impossible to construe καῦσιν ἔχων φύσεως, whereas παῦσιν gives a good sense—"stopping thy own devouring nature"—and the repetition of παῦσον—παῦσιν is quite in the style of the Hymns.

LXIX (Ἐριννύων) 5.

οὐχ ὁσίαις βουλῇσι βροτῶν πεποτημέναι αἰεί.

Read κεκοτημέναι, a participle not apparently found elsewhere, but surely better than pure nonsense, and other forms of the middle of κοτέω are not uncommon.

Ibid. 8.

Ἀίδεω χθόνιαι, φοβεραὶ κόραι, αἰολόμορφοι.

It is just possible to parallel the scansion of Ἀίδεω, and it is perhaps just possible to make it depend on κόραι. But no doubt the poet said ἀΐδιοι, as the Eumenides are styled in the next Hymn.

LXXXVII (Θανάτου) 3.

σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχὴν θραύει καὶ σώματος ὁλκόν.

Read ψυχῆς, according to the Platonic definition of death.

## IV.

### Fragments (ed. Abel).

V 16.

πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν.

For μικραὶ read μαῦραι.

XXX (Damascius, *Quaest. de primis principiis* p. 382). *φαίνεται γὰρ εἰδὼς (ὁ Ὅμηρος) καὶ τὴν Νύκτα μεγίστην οὕτω θεὸν ὡς καὶ τὸν Δία σέβεσθαι αὐτήν.*

For *οὕτω* read *οὖσαν.*

XXXIX (Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 294).

*οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ᾠόν, ὃ συμπληρούμενον ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐκ παρατριβῆς εἰς δύο ἐρράγη. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη, τὸ δὲ κατενεχθὲν γῆ. προῆλθε δὲ καὶ θεὸς Γῆ διὰ σώματος.*

The last words must mean : "Earth was also produced as a goddess," as well as a mere quantity of matter. What then is *διὰ σώματος*? Read *ἀσώματος*, and compare frag. 56, where *ἀρχὰς ἀσωμάτους* are contrasted with material.

LXXXVI *σκῆπτρον δ' ἀριδείκετον εἶο χέρεσσι*
*θῆκε θεᾶς Νυκτός.*

Read *εἰνὶ χέρεσσι*, for *χέρεσσι* has no proper construction, and *εἶο* is bad anyway.

CI (Proclus in Plat. *Crat.* 116) *παράγει οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Οὐρανὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀφροῦ τῶν γονίμων ἑαυτοῦ μορίων ῥιφέντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς.*

*Μήδεα δ' ἐς πέλαγος πέσεν ὑψόθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι*
*λευκὸς ἐπιπλώουσιν ἑλίσσετο πάντοθεν ἀφρός.*
*ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὥραις ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτε*
*παρθένον αἰδοίην.*

Read *ῥιφέντων* and *ἐνιαυτοῦ.*

CX (Hermias in Plat. *Phaedr.* 148). *ἐν τοῖς προθύροις γὰρ τοῦ ἄντρου τῆς Νυκτὸς ἠχεῖν λέγεται (Ἀδράστεια) τοῖς κυμβάλοις, ἵνα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς τῶν νόμων κατήκοα γένηται.*

Omit *τὰ* after *πάντα.* Compare directly afterwards *πᾶσι νομοθετοῦσα τοὺς θείους νόμους.*

CLXIV 3.

*καὶ Δία τ' ἠδ', ὅτι δὴ διὰ τοῦτον ἅπαντα τέτυκται.*

Read *καὶ Δία τῇδ', ὅτι.* "They call him *Δία* in this way, i.e. for this reason, that..." But I cannot quote any parallel to such a use of *τῇδε*; *τ' ἠδ'* however must certainly be wrong.

CCX (Proclus *Theol. Plat.* VI 11, 371). *ἄνω μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς μητρὸς οἴκοις μένειν φησίν, οὓς ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη κατεσκεύασεν.*

Read *αὐτῇ κατεσκεύασεν.*

CCXV

*Ὡς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρατο, δεῖξε δὲ πάντα*
*σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἴακχος·*
*χειρί τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις.*

On this valuable fragment, as Gesner truly remarks, "forte plus satis elaborarunt viri docti," and lately Herwerden has rewritten most of it. But I do not think it has been altogether done with; *μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω.* The words which seem to me indisputably wrong are *παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἴακχος* and *ῥίπτασκε*; for the former Leopardus and Herwerden give *παῖς νηπίαχος δέ*, the latter has been left untouched, except for the very futile change to *ῥίπτεσκε* by Gesner. The observation about Iacchus being a child is ludicrous; Arnobius translates the words "nam puerilis olli vultus erat," which shews the corruption to be very ancient, but brings out the weakness of the phrase more clearly than ever. Read *πρὸς δ' ἦεν Ἴακχος*, which by a very slight change gives just the sense we want.

Then what can *ῥίπτασκε* mean? The frequentative or iterative form is out of place; it is not a repeated but a single action. And *ῥίπτειν* is not at all the right sort of verb. What did he "throw"? *χεῖρ' ἰταμήν*, says Herwerden, but unless his hand had been cut off first, or unless it were some one else's, he could not *ῥίπτειν* it. Then look at the version of Arnobius: "plaudit, contrectat amice." What Arnobius had before him was *χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξε.* And the change from *κατέρεξε* to *ῥίπτασκε* is possible enough. Suppose it written, by a blunder of the kind Mr Housman has profusely illustrated, as *ῥάτκεξε* or the like, and the conjecture of the next scribe would probably be *ῥίπτασκε.*

Dorville had already taken *μιν* to refer to *τύπον*, and I find myself anticipated by Wakefield in reading *ἦεν*, but *ἦεν* by itself without *πρός* is unconstruable. It is now unnecessary to change *κόλποις* to *κόλπους.*

The remaining two lines should, I think, run as follows:

ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνόησε θεά, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ᾧ κυκεὼν ἐμέμικτο.

ἐνόησε Hermann for μείδησε, ἐμέμικτο Herwerden for ἐνέκειτο.

CCXXI (Iamblichus *Protrept.* VIII 134). οἱ τὰς τελετὰς λέγοντές φασι διδόναι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ ζῆν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ κολάσει μεγάλων ἁμαρτημάτων.

For ζῆν ἡμᾶς read ζημίας.

CCXXXVIII 3.

δαίμονες ὃν φρίσσουσι, θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος.

Read θεῶν δείδοικεν ὅμιλος. This fragment is full of asyndeta.

CCLXI Schol. Eurip. *Hec.* 3.

ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οἱ χοῖροι ἑκάβαι προσαγορεύονται.

Read *αἱ χοῖροι.*

ARTHUR PLATT.

## NOTES ON EURIPIDES.

*Or.* 896 Ἀργεῖος οὐκ Ἀργεῖος ἠναγκασμένος

Custom of the language is once more my trusty guide. Consider other examples of this rhetorical formula: Aesch. *Eum.* 46 λόχος γυναικῶν...—οὗτοι γυναικῶν ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω. Eur. *Hec.* 727 γάμος οὐ γάμος ἀλλὰ...οἰζύς. 1099 ἀπώλεσ'—οὐκ ἀπώλεσ' ἀλλὰ μειζόνως. *Phoen.* 1499 σὰ δ' ἔρις οὐκ ἔρις ἀλλὰ φόνῳ φόνος....δόμον ὤλεσε. *Hel.* 1133 γέρας οὐ γέρας ἀλλ' ἔριν. *Alc.* 814. *Andr.* 103. Lycophr. 406 ἔρωτας οὐκ ἔρωτας ἀλλ' Ἐρινύων...πάγην. We require first Ἀργεῖος οὐκ Ἀργεῖος ἀλλὰ...and the appropriate word suggests itself at once, ἀλλ' ἠκασμένος, 'no Argive, but a counterfeit,' a well-known sense of ἠκασμένος and ἐξηκασμένος.

The allusion, as we learn from the schol., is to Cleophon (Kock *Com. Att.* I 615), whose Thracian origin was a ready ground of attack to the Athenians: Ar. *Ran.* 681, Aeschines p. 38. 10 παρεγγραφεὶς αἰσχρῶς πολίτης. So Plato Com. 31 calls Diitrephes τὸν Κρῆτα, τὸν μόγις Ἀττικόν (cf. *Com. fr. adesp.* 769), and Pollux iii. 55 gives among phrases in which a μέτοικος may be stigmatized, κἂν δόξῃ πολίτης εἶναί τις, οὐκ ὤν· παρέγγραπτος, παρεγγεγραμμένος· τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον καὶ ὑπόξυλον ὠνόμαζον οἱ νέοι κωμικοί.

*Phoen.* 1077 κεδνὴ for κλεινή, κυδρή.

*Andr.* 775 πεύθομαι.

*Tro.* 1078 (= 1094) κύκλα for τείχεα? cf. Soph. *fr.* 207.

1107 μεταβάλλουσ[α]ι: cf. *El.* 1147, *H. F.* 732.

*Ion* 1429 ἢ μόνον τόδ' εὐτυχεῖς for μόνῳ τῷ γ'? Dem. 1460. 24 ἐν οὐδέποτ' εὐτυχῆσαι τοῦτο.

*I. T.* 1047 *τί φατέ; τίς ὑμῶν φησὶν ἢ τίς οὐ θέλει<ν>, φθέγξασθε, ταῦτα;*

*i.e. ἢ τίς οὔ φησι θέλειν;* cf. *Rhes.* 149—154, Euphron Com. 8 in a mock-tragic passage, *τίς φησὶν εἶναι δεινὸς ἐκ κοινοῦ φαγεῖν; τίς ἐκ μέσου τὰ θερμὰ δεινὸς ἁρπάσαι;* (*φησὶν εἶναι* δηλ.)

*I. A.* 234 *ὡς πλήσαιμι, λιτὸν ἀδονάν*? or *ἄμεμπτον ἄελπτον*?

669 *ἔα γε· οὐ χρή τοι τάδ' εἰδέναι κόρας. v. l. ἔα γε τ'.* Gaisford conj. *ἔα τάδ'*, Blomfield *ἔασον*: but the MS. readings can more easily be reconciled with *ἐατέ· οὐ χρή.* Cf. *Phoen.* 1216 A. *ἔα τὰ λοιπά...I....οὐκ ἐατέον. H. F.* 172. The use of the plural in such cases is characteristic of Ionic, and among Attic writers is commonest with those who write *Ἰωνικωτερῶς*, Sophocles and Thucydides. But in verbals it held its own in Attic too (comm. on Ar. *Plut.* 1085). Eur. has *συγγωστά Hec.* 1084, *Phoen.* 997, *Med.* 698, *Andr.* 935, *Bacch.* 1028, *El.* 1026, *δίκαια H. F.* 582, *κράτιστα Med.* 386, *ἄσημα Hipp.* 269, 273, *ἀχθεινά Hec.* 1218.

1383 *κἀμὸν κλέος*

1395 *εἰ δ' ἐβουλήθη σῶμα τοὐμὸν Ἄρτεμις λαβεῖν, ἐμποδὼν γενήσομαι 'γὼ θνητὸς οὖσα τῇ θεῷ;*

In cod. *B* a later hand has inserted *τὸ* before *σῶμα*. But the sense demands *εἰ βεβούληται δὲ* 'has made up her mind.' The error was caused, as often, by the transposition of *δέ*, *εἰ δὲ βεβούληται σῶμα...*

*Bacch.* 114 *Βρόμιος ὅτ<αν> ἄγῃ θιάσους.*

319 *μαίνῃ γὰρ ὡς ἄλγιστα, κοὔτε φαρμάκοις ἄκη λάβοις ἂν νῦν τ' ἄνευ τούτων νοσεῖς*

is an old notion of mine that I think deserving of record.

391 (=375) *ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τίς ἂν μεγάλα διώκων τὰ παρόντ' οὐχὶ φέροι;*

*μεγάλα* I suspect is here a gloss on *μακρά*, which is used of far-reaching ambitions: *Trag. fr. adesp.* 127, 8 Death comes *μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας.* Hor. *C.* i. 11. 7 *spem longam reseces.* i. 4. 15 *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare*

*longam.* Senec. *Ep.* 101. 4 *o quanta dementia est spes longas incohantium.* This is a proper antithesis to *τὰ παρόντα*: Thuc. iii. 39. 3 *οὔτε ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά· γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως*...Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 37 si omissa spe longinqua et sera, praesentem et potiorem sequeretur.—The punctuation is mine: cf. Lucian iii. 549 *καὶ τὰ μὲν παρόντα φέρειν οὐκ ἐθέλετε, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐφίεσθε.*

495 *οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι ζῇς οὐδ' ὁρᾷς οὔθ' ὅστις εἶ*

*οὐδ' ὁ δρᾷς*, *οὐδ'* Reiske, *οὐδ' ὁρᾷς ἔθ'* Elmsley. The proverbial phrases of a madman that we find in Latin, Plaut. *Capt.* 560 *quin suom ipse interdum ignorat nomen neque scit qui siet,* Catull. xvii. 22 *ipse qui sit, utrum sit an non sit, id quoque nescit,* Propert. i. 5. 18 *nec poteris, qui sis aut ubi, nosse miser,* indicate, I think, *οὐκ οἶσθ' ἔτ' εἰ ζῇς*...; 'whether you are alive.' Cf. 351.

849 *γνώσεται δὲ τὸν Διὸς*
*Διόνυσον ὃς (ὡς?) πέφηνεν ἀνθρώποις θεός* (175).

973 *ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμῳ στολᾷ*
*Μαινάδων <ἐς> κατασκοπὴν λυσσώδη*

'him that in woman's garb is mad to spy out the Maenads.' This simple correction, which I have suggested before, supposing the loss of ιc before κ, is all that is required: Ael. *N. A.* i. 12 *τὸ λυττῶδες τὸ ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια.* xi. 18 *εἰς ἀφρ. λυττήσασαν.* xii. 10 *εἰς τὰ ἀφρ. λυττητικόν.* Hesych. *Λαίμαργος*: ...*ἐπὶ τὸ φαγεῖν μανιώδης.*

993—1001. In the analysis of this passage which I gave 41 p. 89—100, I ought not to have omitted Plat. *Hipp. Maj.*, particularly 292 E, 294 A—D ending *ἀδύνατον ἄρα τῷ ὄντι καλὰ ὄντα μὴ φαίνεσθαι καλὰ εἶναι...ὁμολογήσομεν οὖν τοῦτο, πάντα τὰ τῷ ὄντι καλὰ καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ δοξάζεσθαι καλὰ εἶναι καὶ φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ πᾶσιν*...; (cf. Alexis 152). For the proverb *ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλοις καλά*, add Pind. *fr.* 215, Otto *Sprichw. s. v. decet.*—In *v.* 996 for *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ* I restore *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ ζηλῶ* (=978 *τίς ὅδε Καδμείων*), on which *φθονῶ* is a mistaken gloss: Hesych. *Ζηλοῖ*: *φθονεῖ. ἐρίζει. μισεῖ. μιμεῖται. Ζηλῶ*: *μακαρίζω.* It should be understood that words

are glossed not necessarily because they are unfamiliar, but often to indicate which of two or more senses they bear in the present case: cf. for example schol. *Hec.* 255 *τὸ ζηλοῦν δύο δηλοῖ, τὸ φθονεῖν καὶ τὸ μακαρίζειν.* The last is the sense required here, as Thuc. v. 105. 3 *μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον.*—For *τὰ καλὰ βίου*, Plut. *Mor.* 225 C *εἰ τὰ καλὰ τοῦ βίου γινώσκοις...*

1010 *φαιδρωπός*, of which (41 p. 100), for reasons of metre and language, I took *γελῶντι προσώπῳ* to be an explanation, I understand now as an allusion to a title of Dionysos: Hes. *Theog.* 940 *Σεμέλη τέκε φαίδιμον υἱόν...Διώνυσον πολυγηθέα.* Nonn. *D.* 45. 130 *φαιδρὸν..., δολόπλοκον υἷα Θυώνης.*

1152 *καλὸς ἀγὼν ἐν αἵματι στάζουσαν*
*χέρα περιβαλεῖν τέκνου*

*ἐν αἵματι* by itself would be good enough (*A. P.* xvi. 289 *τὴν εὐάζουσαν ἐν αἵματι παιδὸς Ἀγαύην*); but though in *Christ. Pat.* 1051 we have *παγκαλὴς ἀγὼν | ἐν αἵματι στάζουσαν εἰσφέρειν χέρα*, classical Greek is *αἵματι στάζοντα χεῖρας* Aesch. *Eum.* 41. I believe that what we find is merely an explanation of *αἱμοσταγῆ*: schol. Aesch. *Theb.* 821 *αἱματοσταγεῖς*] *στάζοντας τὸ αἷμα.* The *Bacchae*, being one of the plays learnt in schools, shows signs of having been freely glossed, to the detriment of the text.

1269 *τί φέρομεν τόδ' ἐν χεροῖν* for *φέρομαι*?

The meaning is simply 'what am I carrying?'

*Hel.* 514 *λόγος γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἐμὸς σοφῶν δ' ἔπος* offends me. It is good Greek to say *οὐκ ἐμός ἐστι λόγος, ἀλλὰ σοφῶν ἔπος*, as Dem. 121. 19 *οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων δεικνύων*, but the order we find in the text demands the meaning 'for there is a saying not of my own but of...' Therefore I think we should have *σοφῶν δέ του* (a usual phrase, *e.g.* Plat. *Rep.* 583 B, Menand. 472. 5, *A. P.* xii. 197), as Lucian i. 789 *οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ ἀλλά τινος τῶν σοφῶν.* Consult Nauck on Eur. *fr.* 484.

1052 *καὶ μὴν γυναικείοις <γ'> ἂν οἰκτισαίμεθα*

*Heracl.* 429 *ἐς χεῖρα γῇ συνῆψαν*

Galen *Gloss. Hippocr.* xix p. 101 Ἐς *χεῖρα*: *δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ πλησίον.* Hesych. Ἐς *χεῖρα*: *παραχρῆμα*, wrongly referred by Schmidt to Achaeus *fr.* 5 Nauck p. 747.

998 *καὶ γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν*
*ἀκούσεται γ<οὖν> ἐσθλά, χρηστὸς ὢν ἀνήρ*

'he shall at any rate be spoken of with the respect he deserves.'

*El.* 582 *ἦν δὴ σπάσωμαί γ'.*

W. HEADLAM.

# FRAGMENT OF A LATIN-GERMAN GLOSSARY IN THE LIBRARY OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SHEFFIELD.

In a volume of Georgius Peurbachius, given to the Library of University College, Sheffield, by the late Mr Spear Parker, I lately found two mutilated scraps of parchment containing a Glossary of Latin words in U, V in handwriting of the 13th century, as I am informed. The Glossary is more interesting by reason of the fact that, though the words are glossed for the most part by Latin synonyms, they are occasionally glossed by German words. These are at least in part of Low-German form. I have occasionally referred in footnotes to corresponding glosses, published or in MS. In these notes Di. Glos = Diefenbach, Glossarium, etc., SS = Steinmeyer und Sievers, Althochdeutsche Glossen 1879—1895. References to the former work are *sub verbo*, to the latter by the volume and page on which the gloss is given. 'MV' stands for the British Museum MS. 174 I, called 'Mater Verborum,' 'BM' for the British Museum MS. 165 C. An * prefixed to words shows that the restoration given in square brackets is supported by MV. In the case of some words further support will be found in the 'Latin Anglo-Saxon Glossary' belonging to Corpus Christi College, published by Mr Hessels (1890). Some obvious corruptions of Latin words I have left uncorrected.

In making the transcription I have received valuable assistance from Mr Francis Jenkinson, University Librarian, from Mr A. Rogers, Assistant in the University Library, Cambridge, and from my schoolfellow Mr Augustus Hughes-Hughes, Manuscripts Department, British Museum.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

PAGE 1.

Valid*us* uiuidus robust*us*
Val*l*us munimen est depalis
. . . .i. palus acut*us*
[Va]lue ianue *vel* fenestre que inter*ius* claudun*tur*
V[as] p*ro*missos. Vasta p*ro*fun*da*
Vad[es] p*ro*missores
Vasto spolio expugno destruo deripio debello
Vaste rupes i*m*men*s*a saxa
[1] Vastitas inter*i*tus *conscripcio* valitudo
Vastus ingens validus
Vasto antr*o* ingenti spelun*ca*
Vates poeta p*re*scius d . .
Vaticinium prophacio (?) p*re*s[agium]
Vaticinacio . . . .
Vberes fertiles habundantes
Vbertim habun*dan*t*er*
Vbertas habun*dan*cia
Vbero habundo
Vecordia demen*cia* stulticia insania
Vecors fatuus brut*us* stult*us*
Vectigal voyrun*g* . . .
Vector portitor
Vegetus incolomis stark [?]
Vehiculum currus
Veladabant vilificabant[2]
Vehemen*s* ferox ater
Vehemen*ter* velociter Acriter
Vellere extrahere
[3] Vellus shepre
*Veneficus q*ui* [venenum dat]
Virus venenum
*Venenatus q*ui* ven[enum accepit]
Veneo vendor
Veneror honoro
[4] Ventilabrum wa[nne]
Ventrale fascia
Vbor hemede[5]
Venum*do* . vendo
Venustas pulchr[itudo]
Venusta . decens . .
Verbascum certa [herba]
[Ver]bosus nugato[rius]
Verbena . herba
Verboten*us* ver*b*i *gratia*
Vereor timeo ho[noro]
Verecun*de* pulch[re]
Veredicus vera d[icens]
*Veretrum Genita[lia virilia]
Vergo inclins inc . .
Veritus verecun[dus]
Veruex aries
Verno floreo
*Verna indomo na[tus]
*Vernaculus d[iminut. a ver]na seruiens
V v
Vertat
Verso fu[ndo]

[1] MV 'vastitas = interitus, conscriptio, solitudo.'
[2] ? velificabant.
[3] Cp. SS III 411 'vellus schaper'.
[4] SS III 291 'ventilabrum wanne'.
[5] *Hemede* seems to belong to *Ventrale*.

PAGE 2.

*[Verso cardi]ne ianua aperta
*[Versicolor] versipellis
[Versutus]calidus astutus irsutus
[Vertibilis] conuertibilis anceps vel vibralis
[Versutia] nequicia
[Vertex cac]umen capitis
lana rubri uel crocei coloris
*[Vertigo g]lobus
[Vesania i]nfirmitas
[Vesanus i]nfirmus
cere Vespis wespe
*[Vescus non a]ppetens cibum
[Vespilion]es sepultores mortuorum
*[Vestiarium] erogacio vestium
[Vestiarius] qui preest vestibus
[1][Vestibulum] ingressus ianue
. . . [f]oramen cardinis
[Veteranus] Antiquus
[Veterat]or callidus insidiator
[V]etus antiquus
. . ro Vito caueo
. o Veho porto
[2][Viaticum w]egspise
*[Vibrat ar]ma concutit
. . ulancia
*[Vicatim per singu]los vicos
[Vicinus propin]quus finitimus
Vic[tim]o immolo
Victima sacrificium
Videlicet vtique sine dubio profecto certo
[3]Vidunum que duos maritos a[mi]sit
Viduata orbata
Vigeo polleo cresco valeo
Vigilancia astucia
Vigiles vrbis custodes
Vigilia . lucubracio
Vigor potencia censura ingenium
Villico villam ago
Vinc[tus] ligatus
Vilico valeo sanus sum
V[index] vltor defensor
V[inolen]tus temulentus ebrius
Vinum temetum rapetum[4]
V[iol]atus contaminatus profanatus
Violenter fraudulenter
Violencia frevelunge
Virago mulier viri officium implens
Viridico germino
Virentibus humentibus
Virecta sata parata virencia
Virguncula parua virgo
[5]Viriliter cepit fortiter sumpsit
Viritim sigillatim nominatim fortiter
Virosus venenosus
[6]Viscor uidens Viso desidero videre
Visendus uisitandus
Visatur. . . asatur Vllus aliquis

[1] MV 'vestibula=prima pars domus aut cardines' [? cardinis].

[2] Lexer 'wegespise'=viaticum.

[3] Ducange 'viduine' eodem sensu, MV 'viduinum'.

[4] ? tapetum.

[5] MV 'viriliter cepit, fortiter initium sumpsit'.

[6] MV 'visor, uidens'. Cp. Forcellini.

PAGE 3.

[1] Vacalis *a*nimalis p*r*onun*c*sialis
Vnit*us* totalit*er*
Vacare intend*e*re
Vltus vindicat*us*
Vda humida. Vappa vin*u*m debile
Viduata Geweyddeymt orbata .i.
Vicissis finis. [2] Vadat madidat
Vlulatus plorat*us* Vehemen*s* velox
[3] Vapor svaidim Vna p*a*riter sim*u*l
Viscosus slimege
Vicium dedic*us*. nota. mac*u*la
Vitta sa͡ercerdotalis infula
Vitricus secu*n*d*us* marit*us*
Vitupe*r*o increpo inpropero
Vibex cicatrix. vix tan*tum*dem al*iqua*ndo
Vlciscor vindico defendo
Vllomodo aliq*u*omodo
Vligo sordes limi *vel* aq*ue*
Vliginosus pinguis
Vlna brachi*u*m *vel* muscul*us* la*ce*rti *vel* scapula
Vltat*us* dampnat*us*
Vltrices dire furie u*i*ndices
Vlt*r*o sponte volu*n*tarie
Vltum ire vi*n*dicare
Vlulo plango fremo
Vlula auis nocturna
Vlua herba palustris
Vmbo media p*a*rs secutor*um* . . .
[4] Vmbrac*u*l*u*m h[u]tte
Vmecto fundo *vel* infundo
[5] Vniacus qui genib*us* iu*n*[ctis] ambulat
[6] Vncus haich
Vnc*us* curw*us*
Vnde de quo . *vel* aquo
Vncus anchora
Vnanimis *con*cors
Vnitora vni*us* vxor
Vola co*n*cauitas palme
[7] Volema winegista
Volitat freq*uenter* volat
Volubilis q*ui* quidquid videt desid[erat]
Volubitas mentis varȩta[s]
Volu*e*re cogitare dispon*e*re
Voluentib*us* an*n*is .i. discu[rrentibus]
Volumen liber auoluend[o]
Voluto crebro voluo
Voro glutio sorbeo
[8] Vorax edax m*u*ltum gl[utto]
Voraces edaces elon[es]
Vorago s*u*bmersio
*Votificantes dona [libantes]
Voueo p*r*omitto
[9] Vrina lotium harn
Vrgeo stimulo i*n*cito
Vsitatum *con*suetudin[eum]
Vspiam v*bi*cumq*ue* *vel* us[quam]
Vsq*ua*m alibi vs[piam]
[10] Vsad*e*ro denique
Vs . . q*ua*q*ue*
Vs . . q*ue* q . .

[1] ? for 'Vitalis'.
[2] Di. Glos. 'vadare, nass machen'.
[3] Di. Glos. 'svadem, vapor'.
[4] SS III 263 'vmbraculum hutte'.
[5] MV 'Vnauf'='qui etc.'
[6] Di. Glos. 'vncus, haych'.
[7] SS III 263 'volema, wingiste', Di. Glos. 'volemum, winegifta'.
[8] SS III 291 'vorax, multum edax, glutto'.
[9] SS III 310 'vrina, locium harn'.
[10] MV 'vsque adeo, denique'.

PAGE 4.

. . *con*taminacio
*[Vsurpacio] . . presumpcio
[1] [Vt comperit] ut dibicit
[Vt]ensilia res vsib*us* *necessarie*
[Vt]er*que* ambo *vel* duo
[Vter]us aluu*us* *vel* vent*er*
. . vt sicut eni*m*
[2] [Vredo] durren
[3] [Vrie] dona viri
vesc*ere* vsup
*[Vti] q*uem*admod*um*
Vtinam vox optantis
. . voci
. . . . . .
. . vindici*o*
. .
. .
. .
*[Vtpote] . . nam sic estimo
[Vtrinq]*ue* ex ambab*us* p*artibus*
utri*que* utrobi utiq*ue*
*[Vulgare] assiduum *vel* cottidia-
*num*
*[Vulgatus] diffamatus
[Vulgo] . . nuncio
[Vulgus] . . m*ultitudo*
blen
. . est crass*us*
orditum
. .
. .

[4] radice vet*eris* arboris p*roced*u*nt*
[5] Viscus . mistil Vlm*us* ullom
[6] Viscedula . auis . sneppe
[7] Varax wra. Vitillu*m* kelle
[8] Variola . meyse [9] Vibex birka
[10] Verriculu*m* scoip. [11] Viltrum wiz
[12] Veru spis [13] Vicia Wickin*e*
[14] Vncin*us* craphe
Verrucaria herba
[15] Vsia vermis porci .i. swinelůs
[16] Veredarius bode
Vsia su*bstancia* *vel* essencia
[17] Vbertim Vroygberg
Valitudo infirmitas
Vegitabile portabile
Vitis p*ro*pago bibit inde futu*ra*
p*ro*pago
Vniu*ersaliu*m *com*munium
Violenci*us* crudelencius
Violentes crudelos
[18] Vbeciora feidiora
Vallat*us* circu*m*dat*us*

Uentillare sceynin
Viciat corrupit
[19] Vomo wollin Vrget i*mpre*mit
Vlulauit cantauit
Vigilo waichin ofbrechin
Vindico vrechin
Vlnero wntmagin
scheynin

[1] MV 'ut comperit, ut didicit'.
[2] SS III 263 'Uredo dûrre, dúrrene'.
[3] SS III 310 'vrie dona viri'.
[4] BM 'vitula . . planta . . quae nascitur a radice vitis vel ubicumque. .'
[5] SS III 466, 510 'viscus, mistil'.
[6] SS III 24, 721 'ficedula, sneppe' III 291 'vicetula auis snepfa'.
[7] SS III 291 'varix werr', 363 'uarix kniadra'.
[8] SS III 291 'variola meisa'.
[9] SS III 291 'vibex birka'.
[10] SS III 291 'verriculum scoup'.
[11] SS III 291 'viltrum vilz'.
[12] SS III 263 'veru spiz'.
[13] SS II 568 'vicia, wicken, wiken'.
[14] SS I 294 'Uncinos craphun'.
[15] SS III 292 'Vsia uermis porci suînislus'. Cp. Ducange.
[16] SS III 292 'veredarius, boto'. Di. Glos. 'veredarius, bode'.
[17] Di. Glos. 'Ubertim frochber'.
[18] ? Vberiora, fecundiora.
[19] Di. Glos. 'vomere, wullen'.

ζ 29 *ἐκ γάρ τοι τούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει*
*ἐσθλή, χαίρουσιν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.*

The scholion of the Codex Harleianus, collated by Porson for the Grenville Homer, runs thus: *ἐκ γάρ τοι τοιούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· Καλλίστρατος δὲ χάρις ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρά· μεταποιῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην φάτις.* If the statement that Aristophanes altered *χάρις* to *φάτις* be trustworthy, that critic is certainly entitled to the credit of having maintained the true reading against a dangerous intruder. But there is an even more important piece of information to be derived from this scholion, viz. that its author read l. 29 with two considerable variations from our vulgate as given above. He clearly had the couplet before him in this form:—

*ἐκ γὰρ τοιούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει*
*ἐσθλή, χαίρουσιν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.*

'For from such things a right goodly report among men ariseth, and father and lady mother rejoice.'

We have not, it is true, *ἐκ γὰρ τοιούτων* actually presented, but only the intermediate dittographic stage, *ἐκ γάρ τοι τοιούτων*, through which the vulgate is readily and, it might almost be said, inevitably reached. But after all it is a matter of comparative indifference whether we say 'from these things' (not surely 'from these men,' as one editor at least would have it), or 'from such things.' The second change however, *ἀνθρώπων* for *ἀνθρώπους*, is one of considerable importance and, unlike the former, may be regarded as essential not only to the integrity but also to the intelligibility of the text. It is, I

submit, a quite inadmissible and unwarrantable vagary to render *ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει*, as we are now obliged to do, 'spreads among men,' instead of 'ascends men' or 'mounts up men,' which rendering indeed would serve excellently well, if men were only mountains or could be regarded poetically as elevations, cf.

> Α 497 *ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὔλυμπόν τε.*
> *σ* 302 *ἡ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνέβαιν' ὑπερώια δῖα γυναικῶν.*

From a recognition of this difficulty *ἀνθρώπους ἄνα βαίνει* has been excogitated, or adopted from Eustathius, by Hermann and welcomed by Nitzsch, who actually rebukes Hermann for having bestowed words of approval on *ἀνθρώπων* and *ἀνθρώποις* (Schol. MS. Pal.). But to say nothing of the fact that *ἀνὰ ἀνθρώπους* is hardly a Homeric expression (v. Ebeling Lex. Hom. s. *ἀνά*), I am afraid this dissevering device equally fails to give a satisfactory result. In fact it leaves the matter pretty much as it was except that men are now fancifully regarded as possessing horizontal instead of vertical extension.

No wonder then that Dr Merry remarks of the vulgate in his note on the passage 'this construction with *ἀναβαίνειν* finds no exact parallel'; but when he proceeds to say 'though Eustathius says well *ἀναβαίνει ὁμοιότητά τινα ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ἀναδέδρομε*,' the point of adding this as a qualification of the first remark is not at all clear. It enforces what has gone before, but does not modify it in the slightest degree. The only difficulty is that *ἀναβαίνει* is, if anything, too much like *ἀναδέδρομε*; for neither verb will admit after it an accusative such as *ἀνθρώπους* with any propriety. Schol. R. interprets *ἀναβαίνει* here as transitive, *ἀναβιβάζει, αὔξει*: but this is of course an error. It would really be better, if the acc. had to be retained at any cost, to change *ἀναβαίνει* to *ἀναφαίνει*, 'sets men in the light,' 'gives them notoriety,' or to something equivalent. There is however no need for such extreme measures. The expression in the scholion, *φάτις ἀνθρώπων*, 'what men say,' 'popular rumour,' is not only satisfactory in sense, but is thoroughly in accord with Homeric usage, as can

easily be shown. It seems indeed that *φάτις* never occurs except in combination with a dependent genitive:—

φ 323 *ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοi φάτιν ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν,*
I 460 *δήμου θῆκε φάτιν καὶ ὀνείδεα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων.*

Once this genitive is objective:—

ψ 362 *αὐτίκα γὰρ φάτις εἶσιν ἅμ' ἠελίῳ ἀνιόντι*
*ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οὓς ἔκτανον ἐν μεγάροισιν.*

Quite similar is the usage of *ἀνθρώπων* in such expressions as:—

Z 351 *ὃς ἤδει νέμεσίν τε καὶ αἴσχεα πολλ' ἀνθρώπων.*
O 661 *καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ*
*ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.*
Z 202 *πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων* (cf. ι 119).
σ 136 *τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων.*
ρ 487 *ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.*
I 134 *ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει*, 276, T 177.

There still remains Nitzsch's objection to *ἀναβαίνειν* used absolutely in the sense of 'mounts' 'arises.' His words are '*ἀναβαίνειν* kann nicht metaphorisch stehn.' Now we have this compound used without the object being expressed in:—

*μ 77 οὐδέ κεν ἀμβαίη βροτὸς ἀνήρ, οὐδ' ἐπιβαίη.*

Furthermore the amount of metaphor involved in the passage is a mere nothing compared with that which is involved in the acknowledged use of other compounds of *βαίνω* e.g. *προβαίνειν*, Π 54 *ὅ τε κράτεϊ προβεβήκῃ, ἀμφιβαίνειν*, Z 355 *πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν.* These instances are a sufficient refutation of a limitation which is almost as unmeaning as arbitrary. Eustathius, as we have seen, had no hesitation about suggesting *ἀναδέδρομε* as the nearest equivalent of *ἀναβαίνει* here.

The above arguments, which would go a long way to prove the reading *φάτις ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει*, even if it were a mere conjecture, as in the first instance I admit that it was, are, surely, amply sufficient to confirm the variant of the scholia of two MSS. Harl. and Pal., especially when we consider that an

original *ἀνθρώπων* might captiously be objected to as liable to be erroneously taken to agree with the preceding *τοιούτων* or *τούτων*, to say nothing of the natural inclination to give *ἀναβαίνειν* its usual accusative. But Homer was satisfied with essential clearness of expression, and his text has only too often been tampered with and made to suffer from the ill-regulated fancies of grammatical purists.

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ζ 82 *μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· καναχὴ δ' ἦν ἡμιόνοιιν·*
*αἱ δ' ἄμοτον τανύοντο, φέρον δ' ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτήν.*

Out of the fourteen instances of *ἐσθής* in the Odyssey—the word does not occur in the Iliad—only the above line offers any serious resistance to the insertion of the initial digamma. The others, ξ 510 and ω 67, are easily disposed of: they require but the omission of a needless τ'. Here however the δ' after *φέρον* cannot be removed without creating an unnatural asyndeton. Yet the claims of the digamma are too strong to be set aside. If we take into account *ἕννυμι* and *εἷμα*, the other members of the family to which *ἐσθής* belongs, there are in both the Homeric poems only three instances in which *F* is not readily admissible (v. Monro H. G. § 390, p. 368). The other two are:—

Γ 56 *ἦ τέ κεν ἤδη*
*λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργας.*
η 259 *ἔνθα μὲν ἑπτάετες μένον ἔμπεδον, εἵματα δ' αἰεί—.*

Passing over other suggested remedies I think *λαῶν* is probably right for *λάϊνον*, the addition of a material genitive to a noun being peculiarly common in Homer. We have *κνημὶς κασσιτέροιο* (Φ 592), *οἶμοι κυάνοιο* (Λ 24), *χρυσοῖο τάλαντα* (I 122), *πλῆμναι ἀργύρου* (E 726) and even *τόξον αἰγός* (Δ 105), *ἱμάντα βοός* (Γ 375), and with a plural *σάκος ταύρων* (H 223), a much more surprising expression than *λαῶν χιτῶνα*.

In η 259 Bekker's *ἔμπεδα* is beside the mark: but the original reading may be restored with tolerable certainty:—

*ἔνθα μὲν ἑπτάετες μένον αὐτόθι, εἵματα δ' αἰεί—.*

No doubt in later times the removal of the seemingly tautological *ἔνθα—αὐτόθι* in favour of *ἔνθα—ἔμπεδον* would seem a manifest improvement; but the addition of *αὐτοῦ* (*αὐτόθι*) to even more detailed and explicit descriptions of place than we have here is almost too frequent in the Homeric poems to need reference to passages. One instance, and that a strong one, would perhaps suffice:—

Θ 207 *αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο καθήμενος οἷος ἐν Ἴδῃ.*

Still, if only for the sake of the coincidence of the verb, it would be inexpedient to suppress:—

I 634 *καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ πόλλ' ἀποτίσας* (L. *αὐτόθι*)

and for final proof

ξ 285 *ἔνθα μὲν ἑπτάετες μένον αὐτόθι, πολλὰ δ' ἄγειρα,*

where we have the emendation ready made.

Now the way has been cleared for dealing with our passage, ζ 83, the last remaining hope, so far as the root *Fες* is concerned, of those who wish to regard the digamma as a visionary unreality, and the despair of those who have arrived at an opposite conclusion. Nauck, we may notice, contents himself with 'verba vix sana,' Fick rejects both 83 and 84. I would venture to restore the line thus:—

*τὼ δ' ἄμοτον τανύοντε φέρον ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτήν.*

Here we have a line, which possesses obvious archaic features well calculated to invite the efforts of the moderniser to bring it up to date. So fierce an onslaught has been made at various periods upon *τώ* as a feminine pronoun (or article), that it has only recently won its way to complete recognition even in our best Grammars, and the same may be said of the participial form *-οντε, τανύοντε*. The later Greeks looked with no favour upon, and indeed could hardly tolerate with patience, a fem. dual participle in *-οντε -αντε* or *-εντε*. We have apparently to thank Aristarchus for the preservation of *προφανέντε* in Θ 378, where it has barely escaped extinction in favour of the spurious modernism *προφανείσα* or the peculiar Doric

licence προφανείσᾰς (v. Cobet, Misc. Crit., p. 400 for this and other instances).

The change of αἱ to τώ immediately after the dual, ἡμιόνοιιν, need not detain us; but a question might certainly be raised as to whether τανύοντε can fairly be read here in the sense of ταννομένω, 'galloping.' The interchange of active and middle forms is not altogether a rarity in the pages of Homer. It appears, as I have already had occasion to show, probably with greater frequency than it ought to do, in our tradition. But what we have to consider now is, whether an active form of a verb can be used in a sense peculiarly belonging to the middle voice. Undoubtedly this would be a deviation from strict propriety of usage, although the cognate verb τείνω is frequently intransitive, and would hardly be likely to occur except under stress of special conditions. The nature of these conditions seems to be fairly apparent from the instances I am about to adduce. If the participle or other form of the middle voice be such that the metre forbids or makes difficult its admission, then the active may sometimes be called into service. Thus we have εἵλετο δόρυ (Π 139, χ 125), but ἑλὼν δόρυ (Ο 474, κ 145), obviously because ἑλόμενος is impracticable; ζ 134 πειρήσοντα because πειρησόμενον is certainly not easily manageable there: κ 249 ἐξερέοντες for ἐξερεόμενοι: σ 143 ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντας for μηχανοωμένους, cf. π 93: ο 77 δεῖπνον τετυκεῖν, which may be compared with θ 61 τετύκοντο δὲ δαῖτα: μ 297 βιάζετε (Aristarchus) for βιάζεσθε: Hym. Herm. 188 νέμοντα for νεμόμενον. On this principle τεχνῆσαι may be accepted in η 110, though τεχνάομαι be elsewhere only valid, and in Hym. Dion. 51 ἐξαλέοντες (Barnes) is probably right as representing ἐξαλεόμενοι. Λ 446, θ 300 ὑποστρέψας for the metrically prohibited ὑποστρεψάμενος, unless the true reading be ὑποστρεφθείς (Λ 567).

In ι 149 κελσάσῃσι δὲ νηυσί we have a unique instance; but although the active form is here abnormal, it must not be forgotten that the middle voice of this verb is not in use at all.

In our passage van Leeuwen and Da Costa (1897) suggest μεμαῶτε φέρον, but do not admit it into their text. μεμαῶτε

is obviously too remote from the tradition. Naber's *ἀνύοντε* is nearer, but makes the second foot a nerveless tribrach.

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ζ 141 *στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη· ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν* Ὀδυσσεύς.

It is a curious coincidence here that the metrical difficulty of the hiatus in the third foot—theoretically indeed it is *licitus*—should be associated with an equally serious, or perhaps more serious, exegetical mystery in connection with *σχομένη*. Eustathius gives the explanation *ἐπισχοῦσα ἑαυτὴν τῆς φυγῆς*. Now we have undoubtedly *ἔσχοντο φόβου* (*ω* 57) in this sense, and the very similar expressions Γ 84 *ἔσχοντο μάχης*, Β 98 *ἀϋτῆς σχοίατ'*, Ρ 503 *μένεος σχήσεσθαι*, δ 422 *σχέσθαι βίης*. But on these analogies the omission of the gen. *φόβου* here seems hardly possible, and even if we contrive to overlook this difficulty, the further objection might be raised that, while in every instance above quoted the genitive describes a condition of things actually existing (cf. Nitzsch's defence of the genitive *ἀέθλων* in *a* 18), in the present case the princess, Nausikaa, not only never took to flight but, thanks to Athene, never felt even the impulse to fly:—

> *οἵη δ' Ἀλκινόοιο θυγάτηρ μένε· τῇ γὰρ Ἀθήνη*
> *θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων.*

These considerations are, I venture to say, conclusive against the interpretation offered by Eustathius, '*halting*,' '*stopping*'; but it seems just possible that *σχομένη* might bear the meaning 'controlling herself,' implying that in the midst of the general alarm she maintains her self-possession, her sang-froid. If the line must be accepted, as it stands, this is the only interpretation really admissible, though it can only be supported weakly by ρ 238 *φρεσὶ δ' ἔσχετο*, where the addition of *φρεσί* facilitates matters considerably. In the other examples of the absolute use of *ἔχομαι*, viz. β 70 = Χ 416 *σχέσθε, φίλοι*, Φ 379 *σχέο*, it is clearly not necessary to assume any meaning other than our 'give over,' 'have done.'

Then again *μερμήριξεν* in our line occupies an unusual position, almost a unique one. This verb stands at the end

of a line, forming a spondaic ending, no less than twenty-one times. There is but one instance of its occurrence as here:—

ρ 235 ἀλλ' ἔμεν' ἀσφαλέως· ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεύς.

So far I have only shown from Homeric usage that ζ 141 possesses certain peculiar features, which must excite some surprise and justify a little mistrust: but the case is materially altered and becomes a much blacker one, when we take into consideration those passages, which along with the identical words, στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη, here used contain also important supplementary additions. The lines are read α 333–4, π 415–6, σ 209–10, φ 64–5, and have often been quoted on our passage:—

στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,
ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα.

Now it is of course utterly impossible that σχομένη should be used by itself as equivalent to σχομένη κρήδεμνα. The object is indispensable as in M 298 (ἀσπίδα) τὴν ἄρ' ὅ γε σχόμενος. But neither is it reasonably probable that with such surroundings the participle should bear a sense entirely different from that in α 334 &c. Accordingly an hypothesis that will reconcile and account for all the difficulties ought to have a fair claim to consideration. I suggest then that Ὀδυσσεύς is nothing but a gloss on ὁ δέ, and that the original form of the line was this:—

στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη κρήδεμν'· ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν.

The intrusion of the proper name would easily cause κρήδεμν' to be dropt. Moreover some wiseacre would be sure to discover that the κρήδεμνα were thrown aside at l. 100, and as according to the most approved principles of microscopic criticism, ancient and modern alike, Nausikaa could not be in possession of, or hastily catch up, hers without this important fact being expressly stated in terms, it follows, as the day follows the night, that the sooner κρήδεμν' is hustled out of sight, the better.

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ζ 166 *ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ κεῖνο ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα θυμῷ*
*δήν, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,*
*ὡς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε, δείδιά τ' αἰνῶς*
*γούνων ἅψασθαι.*

There is no metrical defect in this passage save the hiatus, not claimed as *licitus*, after *γύναι*; but the inverted sequence of *ὡς αὕτως—ὡς*, as Dr Merry quaintly but truly remarks, 'seems to begin the comparison at the wrong end.' In no other place does *ὡς αὕτως* introduce the simile, or more precisely that fact, to which the main circumstance is compared as analogous or identical. Elsewhere in every instance (Γ 339, H 430, I 195, K 25, γ 64, ι 31, υ 238, φ 203, 225, χ 114, ω 409) the sentence beginning *ὡς δ' αὕτως*, 'And in the same way,' states that some particular procedure is precisely the same as one already recounted in detail. Such a sentence is of the nature of apodosis rather than protasis, so that here the natural arrangement—I still follow Dr Merry, and his statement is incontrovertible—would be *ὡς καὶ κεῖνο ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα, ὡς αὕτως σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαι.*

This natural order, I do not hesitate to say, was in all probability the original order also; but the old critics, the rhapsodists if so be, would not fail to observe that in the other eleven instances of *ὡς αὕτως* the formula invariably runs *ὡς δ' αὕτως* for the very sufficient reason that the conjunction is everywhere in place. Hence if they found here—and the supposition is permissible—a solitary instance of *ὡς αὕτως* without the intervening *δέ*, proceeding by rule of thumb and little recking that here the clauses are for once differently arranged, they would not hesitate to give admission to the missing *δέ*, even though to effect this they had to turn the two clauses topsy-turvy and invert their proper relations. Praeposteri homines! putting the cart before the horse, to use the expression Sallust attributes to C. Marius (B. J. § 85). Let us now restore the correct sequence and read:—

*ὡς δέ, γύναι, καὶ κεῖνο ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα θυμῷ*
*δήν, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,*
*ὡς αὕτως ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε δείδιά τ' αἰνῶς*
*γούνων ἅψασθαι.*

The pronoun *σέ* may be omitted as needless. I do not insert it, not only because *ἄγαμαι can* stand well enough without an object, and *τέθηπε* always *does*, but because its omission enables us to dispense with the comma that usually follows *τέθηπά τε*. Obviously those who prefer to retain the pronoun can easily insert it after either *ὥς* or *αὕτως*.

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*ζ* 273 *τῶν ἀλεείνω φῆμιν ἀδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω*
*μωμεύῃ—μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον—*
*καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας.*

The parenthetical treatment of *μάλα—δῆμον* is no novelty. I find the clauses arranged as above by Loewe (1828) and Dindorf (1862). Still the prevalent method of punctuating l. 274 is:—

*μωμεύῃ· μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον.*

So it appears in the texts of Merry and Riddell (1876), Ludwich (1889), Platt (1892), Monro (1896) and Ameis-Hentze[10] (1895). Perhaps it does not necessarily follow from the adoption of this punctuation that these editors, one and all, agree with Nitzsch, who explicitly denies the parenthetic character of the clause. Der Satz *μάλα* bis *δῆμον* bildet keine Parenthese. But certainly such a punctuation fails to convey the least idea that *μάλα—δῆμον* is intended to be regarded as parenthetic; and if it be not so regarded, *καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι κτλ.* must be taken as an independent clause with *κε* omitted. This latter usage however is itself open to very serious question. Mr Monro H. G. § 275 (b) adduces as apparently the only example of a pure Subj. used as an emphatic Future in an affirmative sentence *καί ποτε τις εἴπῃσι* (Z 459, 479, H 87), and therefore inferentially would seem to agree with Loewe and Dindorf. But let us see what weight these three passages carry. In Z 459 the Subj. follows *ὅτε κεν* in l. 454, as indeed Mr Monro has himself explained. In Z 479 the true reading is *εἶποι* (Oxford Homer 1896), not *εἴπῃ* at all. Lastly in H 87 *εἴπῃσι* follows *ὄφρα* (85). Even if we were to concede the legitimacy of the usage—a most needless concession on such

flimsy evidence—, neither the Subj. with κε nor the Subj. without κε would be quite suitable here as a principal sentence. The statement would be much too positive. According to ascertained usage κε with the Opt. would be nearer the mark. Upon the whole there are in these considerations good grounds for rejecting Nitzsch's view of these lines and regarding εἴπῃσι as parallel to the preceding μωμεύῃ.

So far then with regard to the general construction of our passage. I wish now to propose an emendation which will not in any way affect that question, but yet may be considered of some moment, inasmuch as its applicability extends considerably beyond this particular instance. Owing to the neglect of the digamma in εἴπῃσι (275) Bekker in his text of 1858 read ὥς εἴπῃσι. But what adequate motive could have induced anyone to change ὥς into ὥδε? A better and more probable correction would, I submit, be:—

ὧδ' ἐνέπῃσι.

The corruption of this is simplicity itself, being merely the substitution of a more familiar word (εἴπῃσι) for one that, having passed out of the sphere of colloquial use, had consequently acquired a somewhat antiquated colouring.

A strong point in favour of the emendation is, as I have already intimated, that it supplies a far easier and more satisfactory solution than any hitherto suggested, of the apparent disregard of the digamma in several other instances of this verb εἰπεῖν. For example in the oft repeated line (η 187, θ 27, ρ 469, σ 352, φ 276, H 68, 349, 369, Θ 6, T 102):—

ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει—

nothing could be simpler than to restore ὄφρ' ἐνέπω. Previous suggestions ὄφρα Fέπω, ὄφρ' ἔσπω and ὡς εἴπω are hardly on the same level of probability. Again in M 317, H 300, where ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ (εἴπῃσιν) bears a very close resemblance to our passage, we may restore ὧδ' ἐνέπῃ as here. Similarly in Z 281 ἐθέλῃσ' εἰπόντος the elision, though perhaps not absolutely necessary, may still be maintained by ἐθέλῃσ' ἐνέποντος. In Λ 791 ταῦτ' εἴποις should surely be corrected ταῦτ' ἐνέποις,

not τὰ Fείποις, which only makes bad worse. In λ 297 πάντ' εἰπόντα we might hesitate to replace the aor. part. by ἐνέποντα except for the strong warrant of ρ 549, 556.

I have still two lines more to adduce. They are these:—

δ 28 ἀλλ' εἴπ', ἦ σφωϊν καταλύσομεν ὠκέας ἵππους,
ι 279 ἀλλά μοι εἶφ', ὅπῃ ἔσχες ἰὼν ἐνεργέα νῆα.

In the first case I do not anticipate much objection to ἀλλ' ἔνεπ' being substituted for ἀλλ' εἴπ'. But in the second case the proposal I have to make:—

ἀλλά μ' ἔνισφ', ὅπῃ ἔσχες ἰὼν ἐνεργέα νῆα,

challenges comparison with Bentley's ἀλλ' ἄγε εἶφ', which might be considered less elaborate and therefore more probable. It so happens however that indirectly the proposed emendation can command a curious and powerful piece of extraneous support. There is a line in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes (199) running thus:—

ταῦτά μοι εἰπέ, γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἴ που ὄπωπας—.

Now obviously this line, like the other one, may be emended in either way ταῦτ' ἄγε εἰπέ or ταῦτά μ' ἔνισπε (v. δ 642). Let me say in favour of the latter that the elision of the diphthong of μοι would act as a strong inducement towards modification. Each then has something in its favour, so that merely from considerations of intrinsic probability the balance may be taken as even. But it turns unmistakably to the side of ταῦτά μ' ἔνισπε, when we observe that the only passages, in which εἴ που ὄπωπας occurs, have et his very verb, this very aor., ἐνισπεῖν, preceding it. The passages are:—

γ 93 = δ 323 κείνου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐνισπεῖν, εἴ που ὄπωπας.
Hym. Dem. 71 νημερτέως μοι ἔνισπε, φίλον τέκος, εἴ που ὄπωπας.

The recognised tendency of epic phraseology to become stereotyped could hardly be more strikingly illustrated.

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η 67 *καί μιν ἔτισ᾽ ὡς οὔ τις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη,*
*ὅσσαι νῦν γε γυναῖκες ὑπ᾽ ἀνδράσι οἶκον ἔχουσιν.*
*ὡς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηταί τε καὶ ἔστιν*
*ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων ἔκ τ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόοιο*
*καὶ λαῶν, οἵ μίν ῥα θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωντες*
*δειδέχαται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχῃσ᾽ ἀνὰ ἄστυ.*

There can be no doubt that Nauck is right in describing the concluding words of l. 69, *τε καὶ ἔστιν*, as corrupt, 'verba vitiosa.' Even in these days, when many scholars cling stoutly but helplessly to a tradition obviously debased by modernisation in many places, few or none would be hardy enough to maintain that the words, as they stand, ever proceeded from the lips of Homer. Yet it does not follow, because there is a corruption of limited extent in one line, a glaringly manifest corruption, if you will, that the whole passage or any considerable portion of it is to be condemned as an interpolation and eliminated from the text.

This summary procedure, largely indulged in by Zenodotus and by no means eschewed by Aristarchus, is very facile in application and has consequently been freely used, or in other words, abused. So here the whole passage, ll. 69—74, is condemned by P. Knight, as having been forged prava sedulitate diversorum rhapsodorum. But while hasty rejection is to be deprecated, we ought no less to be on our guard against that other extreme of blind credulity, which prompts us to take the words as we find them and make the best of them, however bad that best may be.

Here, if we rely on the resources of exegesis, we may take our choice between three alternatives. (1) We may understand *τιμήεσσα* with *ἐστιν* from the previous *τετίμηται*. This method, a fairly popular one, is Nitzsch's and is backed by a similar expression found in Propertius, truly a rare authority for Homeric language. He writes 2, 13, 38:—

Nec minus haec nostri notescet fama sepulcri,
Quam fuerant Phthii busta cruenta viri,

where fuerant clearly is equivalent to nota fuerant. But little admirable as is the expression of the Latin poet, it falls very

far short of the lame imbecility of what Homer is supposed to have adventured. Nota fuerant is not identical in time with notescet, nor are the two verbs in the same clause, whereas τετίμηται, 'is now in a state of honour,' is according to Homeric usage absolutely synonymous with the postulated τιμήεσσά ἐστιν, and they both stand coordinately in the same sentence, as closely combined as any two verbs can be. The truth is, this first method proceeds from, and altogether depends upon, a misapprehension of the meaning of the Homeric perfect, v. Monro H. G. § 28. The words of C. T. Damm (Lex. Hom.) are amusingly illustrative of this error. After paraphrasing thus 'sicut illa maxime ex animo honorata inque pretio habita est et etiamnum habetur,' he goes on with confident but misplaced worldly wisdom to libel his married contemporaries in these terms, 'nam saepe uxores primis mensibus vel annis carae fuerunt, at nunc non sunt adhuc.' The second course (2) would be to supply περὶ κῆρι with ἐστιν; but as such an expression is altogether unparalleled in Homer, and no one could say what it would mean or whether it would mean anything at all, we may put it aside respectfully but firmly. Lastly (3) it is suggested that περί ἐστιν may mean 'she excels,' which it frequently does, when the particular point of excellence is defined, as for instance by νόον or μάχεσθαι. But, however admissible elsewhere, here such a parenthetical remark, breaking the construction of τετίμηται with ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων κτλ., would surely be little less than intolerable.

Clearly then in this passage, if anywhere in Homer, there is room for an emendation, provided it be possible to find one, which would give a reasonably good sense without deviating too far from the tradition. Bothe conjectured τοκάδεσσιν, which certainly in form approximates very closely to the vulgate, but in meaning is less satisfactory: we can only hope he was oblivious for the moment of the real sense of τοκάδες (v. ξ 16). Van Leeuwen and Da Costa read τεκέεσσιν with the fatal necessity of deleting l. 70 and changing λαῶν in l. 71 to λαοῖς. Hartman (Epist. Crit. 1896) has by a happy instinct suggested γεράεσσι, but fails to carry conviction, because he considers that the hopelessly incompatible κῆρι must be maintained:—

*ὣς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηται γεράεσσιν.*

The original form of the line seems to have been practically preserved for us in a passage, which apparently has escaped the notice of Hartman, Hesiod Theogon. 449:—

*πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι τετίμηται γεράεσσιν.*

From this we may restore to Homer with tolerable certainty and with manifest advantage:—

*ὣς κείνη περὶ πᾶσι τετίμηται γεράεσσιν*

'So she is graced beyond others with all marks of honour.'

The absolute difference between ΤΕΚΑΙΕCΤΙΝ and ΓΕΡΑΕCCΙΝ in Greek uncials is not very great; and although *γεράεσσι* does not happen to be found in Homer, yet in face of *τεράεσσι*, *δεπάεσσι* &c. it would be absurdly fastidious to question its validity. However, I am inclined to trace the corruption not so much to the confusion of similar letters as to the fortuitous substitution of the word *κῆρι* for *πᾶσι* earlier in the line. The rhapsodists, one and all, were familiar with:—

ε 36 *οἵ κέν μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὣς τιμήσουσι,*
τ 280 *οἵ δή μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὣς τιμήσαντο* = ψ 339,
Δ 46 *τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τιέσκετο Ἴλιος ἱρή,*

also N 430 *περὶ κῆρι φίλησε*, ο 245 *περὶ κῆρι φίλει*, Ω 61, 423 *περὶ κῆρι φίλος*, so that not only is *περὶ κῆρι* a frequent combination, but it is found often enough in conjunction with the verb *τιμάω*. The force of association then would almost inevitably cause *κῆρι* to be introduced into our line as a variant instead of *πᾶσι*. In the struggle for possession *κῆρι* would have the outside help of the parallel passages above quoted, which would seem decisive: but in order that *κῆρι* might reign without a rival with absolute security of tenure, it was inevitable that *γεράεσσιν* should suffer extinction, as it has done; for the two datives are clearly at irreconcilable odds, whatever may be said by those who forget that complicated subtleties of expression are quite foreign to Homer and his age, and belong essentially to a time when language had become, what it cer-

tainly was not in early epic poetry, the object as well as the instrument of thought.

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η 130 ἡ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἴησι
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.

The lengthening of the final syllable of ὑψηλόν is attributed to the joint efforts of the metrical arsis and the stop that follows. The subjoined passages however:—

Κ 428 πρὸς μὲν ἅλὸς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι * * *
430 πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοί τ' ἀγέρωχοι.
Ο 669 μάλα δέ σφι φόως γένετ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
ἠμὲν πρὸς νηῶν καὶ ὁμοιίου πολέμοιο.
Χ 198 αὐτὸς δὲ ποτὶ πτόλιος πέτετ' αἰεί.
φ 347 οὐθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἤλιδος ἱπποβότοιο·

embolden me to suggest that the verse in question (η 131) was originally independent of either arsis or comma, and began with unexceptionable metre thus:—

πρὸς δόμου ὑψηλοῦ,

'in the direction of the lofty house,' practically 'near to the lofty house.'

But over and above this easy emendation the passage deserves a little further consideration. The accepted interpretation is that the second spring flows beneath the court-yard wall, issues again in the centre of the court-yard and forms a piece of ornamental water there. Afterwards of course, though nothing is said about this, it must find an outlet by another passage beneath the ἕρκος αὐλῆς, perhaps going first right under the house and so affording a specially convenient domestic water-supply.

My impression is that the above view is hardly warranted even by the text as it stands, certainly not by the text as emended, and is in fact inadmissible, firstly because the fashion of forming artificial ponds, so much followed in later days, is scarcely likely to have been in vogue in primitive times, secondly because under this arrangement the Phaeacians at

large, who were presumably pretty numerous, actually took their water from a point in the stream above where the royal household derived their supply—certainly a bad sanitary scheme for the king and his family—but mainly because a far simpler explanation of the passage is attainable. I would render it thus:—"but the second spring flows the opposite way *right up to* the threshold of the outer-court near to (in the direction of) the lofty house, and from hence the citizens used to draw water.' The stream, as I understand the case, flowed outside the *οὐδὸν αὐλῆς*, close up to it, but not necessarily or by any means underneath it. Similarly the Greek host came *ὑπὸ Ἴλιον*; but this conveys no implication that they drove mines beneath the town. On this hypothesis the water would be taken by all from the same point, the *οὐδὸς αὐλῆς*, though possibly the king's servants would take their supply a couple of yards higher up. But that is immaterial.

Bekker proposed to read *ὑδρεύουσι πολῖται*: the imperfect however seems quite defensible here even in the midst of the present tenses, because the fact mentioned is not part and parcel of the scene described and placed as it were before our eyes, but is obviously based upon subsequent information or observation. Moreover, as I have elsewhere maintained (Journ. Phil. xxv p. 314 f.), *πολῖται* was probably originally *πολιῆται*, and the whole line stood thus:—

*πρὸς δόμου ὑψηλοῦ, ὅθεν ὕδρευον πολιῆται.*

I cannot think that Naber's conjecture *πρὸς θόλον ὑψηλήν* (cf. *χ* 442) deserves any credit beyond that of verbal ingenuity. The reasons already given against the ordinary interpretation tell equally against the acceptance of this novelty.

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*η* 143 *καὶ τότε δή ῥ' αὐτοῖο πάλιν χύτο θέσφατος ἀήρ.*

In this line we have a time-honoured error, which might surely without offence be relegated to the limbo of detected impostures. The true reading is:—

*χύτ' ἀθέσφατος ἀήρ*

and the following passages bear strong, I think convincing, testimony to the fact :—

Γ 4 *αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,*
Κ 6 *τεύχων ἣ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἠὲ χάλαζαν,*
η 273 *ὤρινεν δὲ θάλασσαν ἀθέσφατον, οὐδέ τι κῦμα,*
λ 373 *νὺξ δ' ἥδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὥρη,*
ο 392 *ἥμενος. αἵδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὕδειν,*
λ 61 *ἆσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος·*
ν 244 *ἐν μὲν γάρ οἱ σῖτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δέ τε οἶνος,*
υ 211 *νῦν δ' αἱ μὲν γίγνονται ἀθέσφατοι,* (sc. *βόες*),

Hym. Apoll. 298

*ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,*

Hes. Op. 660

*Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν.*

Let me observe in passing, as I may not find an early opportunity of referring again to the line, that in λ 61 the original was in all probability not *ἀθέσφατος οἶνος*, but *ἀθέσφατος ὕπνος*, a soft impeachment, to which Elpenor, for there is a good deal of human nature even in ghosts, would plead guilty more readily than to the vulgate, even if the digamma did not stand in the way of the latter's genuineness.

With regard to *ἀθέσφατος*, the meaning given in Apoll. Lex. 13, 5: *πολύν, οἷον οὐδ' ἂν θεὸς φατίσειεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος*, is undoubtedly in the main correct, whether *θεός* enters into the composition of the word or not. The nouns to which this adjective is applied agree only in possessing quantity or volume that passes description. They indicate something indefinitely large or copious. An epithet of this kind is obviously given with full propriety to the pouring rain, the vast sea, the long night &c. On the other hand, no description of the impenetrable mist that enshrouded Odysseus, as he entered the Phaeacian king's palace, could be more absurdly ridiculous than to say that it was 'describably large,' the converse of *ἀθέσφατος*, whether the describer be a god or any one else. Clearly the *ἀήρ*, the mist, is *ἀθέσφατος* in the same way as is the *ὄμβρος* of Γ 4. It is copious and indefinable, all the more so, because it is invisible.

If *θέσφατος* could be supported by an array of passages such as *ἀθέσφατος* has at call, the case would be materially altered; but it so happens that our passage stands absolutely alone to vouch for the word as either the converse or, if any one cares so to regard it, the equivalent of *ἀθέσφατος*. Elsewhere *θέσφατον* is either a noun substantive, 'an oracle,' or means 'declared by heaven,' v. Θ 477, δ 561, κ 473, Hym. Herm. 534.

The only plausible consideration in favour of maintaining *θέσφατος* here is that the ancients would never have sacrificed *ἀθέσφατος* to save a common elision such as the *ο* of *χύτο*. But here again I must recur to my argument that the words would probably be written in very early times, as in Latin, without mark of elision *χύτο ἀθέσφατος*, and consequently it is merely the wrong vowel that happens to have suffered extinction. *ἀθέσφατος* was made the victim, not only because it produced the rare trochaic caesura of the fourth foot, but because it had passed out of familiar speech, the only efficient safeguard of language in ancient times. Luckily the other sufficiently numerous examples of *ἀθέσφατος* were not imperiled in a similar way, and have therefore been enabled to preserve their pristine integrity. Here the MSS. without exception, so far as I am aware, present *θέσφατος*; but 'twould be a topsy-turvy world, my masters, if the combined evidence of eight unquestioned passages were insufficient to overrule a nonsensical unanimity in one.

Earlier in our line *αὐτοῖο*, 'from himself,' seems needlessly emphatic. This emphasis may perhaps not lack defenders; but most probably the original reading, subsequently altered by a modernising hand, was *ἀπὸ τοῖο*. It is true the gen. may stand after *πάλιν* without a preposition, as in Σ 138, Υ 439: but its presence is clearly admissible, as may be seen from Φ 593 *πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ χαλκὸς ὄρουσε | βλημένου*. One MS. Vind. 50 supports *ἐκ τοῖο*, so that there is not entire unanimity for the vulgate.

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η 204 εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ μοῦνος ἰὼν ξύμβληται ὁδίτης.

For ξύμβληται with its peculiar accentuation (προπαροξύτονον Schol. P) Bekker and Cobet would read ξυμβλῆται, and if the contracted form of the word is to be admitted at all, the circumflex accent is undoubtedly correct, v. Monro H. G. § 88.

Nauck's idea that ξύμβληται is indicative, ξυμβλῆται being subjunctive, is altogether untenable. The Homeric aor. ἐβλήμην, parallel with ἐλύμην, ἐδέγμην, ἐλέγμην, ἐφθίμην, may of course appear in the 3rd per. sing. as ἔβλητο or βλῆτο, but to suppose that βέβλημαι may make βλῆται as well as βέβληται is not merely questionable, but is destructive of all rational accidence.

Mr Monro (loc. cit.) would defend ξύμβληται as an encroachment of the common thematic type, at the same time admitting a doubt whether the change reaches back to the earliest form of the text of Homer. But evidently this defence is only one remove from a severe blow to the impugned form; for it is this very encroachment of later types, which has debased the Homeric text and dotted it with modernisations, which have in the present century served as pegs on which to hang disquisitions intended to prove that the poems as a whole are only sham antique, the work of a cultivated age vainly trying to imagine a remote and indeed never actually existent anterior stage of civilisation. The true form of the subjunctive of ἐβλήμην is βλήεται, as appears from :—

ρ 471 ὁππότ' ἀνὴρ περὶ οἷσι μαχειόμενος κτεάτεσσι
βλήεται ἢ περὶ βουσὶν ἢ ἀργεννῇς ὀίεσσι.

In Υ 335 ξυμβλήεαι has been rightly restored for ξυμβλήσεαι by Cobet. Similarly we find φθίεται (Υ 173), φθιόμεσθα (Ξ 87). Hence we should read in our passage, not ξύμβληται with ancient grammarians, who from simple ignorance used the linguistic types of their own day as standards to determine ancient epic forms, whenever the metre would allow them to do so, nor yet ξυμβλῆται, a doubtful contraction of little authority and less probability, but the simple uncontracted and unquestionable βλήεται with elision thus :—

*ξυμβλήεθ' ὁδίτης.*

It is very satisfactory to find this reading already adopted in the text by the Leyden editors, van Leeuwen and da Costa, who have also, it appears, in two other passages, *β* 368 and *γ* 255, anticipated my suggestions. I have only recently become aware of this, and have much pleasure in conceding to them the priority at any rate of publication.

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*θ* 64 *ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν,*
*ι* 210 *χεῦ', ὀδμὴ δ' ἡδεῖα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει.*

As these two passages in conjunction with the probably spurious *ν* 80 are supposed to demonstrate the impossibility of restoring the digamma of *Fηδύς* in Homer, v. Hoffmann Qu. H. § III., it may be of advantage to take the two lines as a test case and to show that, intractable as they appear, they do not by any means make it an inevitable necessity that we should accept the doctrine, that Homer considered himself at liberty to use either *Fηδύς* or *ἡδύς*, as fancy or convenience might prompt.

Let us first deal with *θ* 64, for if the problem can be solved there, our second instance, *ι* 210, will be found to present little difficulty. Now unless we are going to suppose that the poet meant to intimate by this particular license, that the Muse in an excess of wanton cruelty—he says she did it all out of love, *τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε*,—deprived poor Democritus not only of his eyes but of his Fs, and so converted him into the ancient equivalent of those modern poets who adopt the dialect of the slums or the barrack-yard, I see no reason why we should not restore the line thus:—

*ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἄρα ἡδὺν ἀοιδήν.*

The facility, with which *ι* 210 follows suit, is a point in favour of this change:—

*χεῦ', ὀδμὴ δ' ἄρα ἡδὺς ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει,*

nor in this last case can I count the removal of the so-called hiatus licitus as anything but an additional recommendation.

Clearly such an expression as *ἡδὺν ἀοιδήν* would seem to the later Greek in the interests of elementary grammar to call for the simple correction *δ' ἡδεῖαν*, which if it had been equally simple would doubtless have been with equal readiness applied to the line, which may still be quoted in support of the apparently anomalous concord:—

*μ* 369 *καὶ τότε με κνίσης ἀμφήλυθε ἡδὺς ἀυτμή.*

Compare also *ζ* 122 *θῆλυς ἀυτή*, T 97 *θῆλυς ἐοῦσα*, *ε* 467 *θῆλυς ἐέρση*, *δ* 442 *ὀλοώτατος ὀδμή*, 406 *πικρὸν—ὀδμήν*, K 27 *πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρήν* &c. It is indeed rather strange that the distinctively feminine forms of this adjective (*ἡδεῖα*, *ἡδεῖαν*) depend for their validity in Homer solely on these two lines (*θ* 64, *ι* 210) and the doubtful Θ 550, which belongs to a passage found in none of the MSS., but introduced by Barnes from the probably spurious Platonic dialogue, *Alcib.* II. 149 D, where it might well have been allowed to rest. This consideration may serve at any rate to diminish the natural regret we might otherwise feel at parting with *ἡδεῖα* (*-αν*) here.

In this connection it is by no means difficult to discern the nature and cause of the remarkable reading found:—

O 71 *Ἴλιον αἰπὺ ἔλωσιν.*

The lost fem. *αἰπύν*, found in Harl. Mor., should certainly be restored.

For *μὲν—δ' ἄρα* in *θ* 64 reference may be made to Λ 426, A 308, B 426, Γ 8 &c.; but to support *δ' ἄρα* in *ι* 210 by any quotations would surely be a work of supreme supererogation.

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*θ* 159 *οὐ γάρ σ' οὐδέ, ξεῖνε, δαήμονι φωτὶ ἐίσκω*
*ἄθλων, οἷά τε πολλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,*
*ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅς θ' ἅμα νηὶ πολυκληῖδι θαμίζων,*
*ἀρχὸς ναυτάων οἵ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασι,*
*φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ᾖσιν ὀδαίων*
*κερδέων θ' ἁρπαλέων· οὐδ' ἀθλητῆρι ἔοικας.*

This is the flouting speech of the Phaeacian Euryalus to Odysseus during the progress of the games. Even the most

careless reader of Homer must be struck by the solitary example in l. 160 of the contracted form *ἆθλον*. Rising up in protest against it there stand at least forty instances of the uncontracted *ἄεθλον* and *ἀέθλια*. Again the question arises:—Is the presence of this later form sufficient to prove that the line, and as much of the passage as may be involved in its excision, ought to be regarded as not genuine? And again the answer is:—By no means. Nothing has happened here beyond the introduction of a modern form where the original turn of expression happened to be of a slightly archaic cast, and happened also to lend itself with facility to such modernisation. The primitive phrase is still recoverable:—

*οἷά τ' ἀέθλια πολλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται.*

We may therefore disregard Knight's rejection of this line. He also condemns on the same ground l. 164, to which I will make reference later.

Now the omission of the antecedent genitive, which the preceding *δαήμονι* implies, is peculiarly epic and may be illustrated by such examples as H 401 *γνωτὸν δέ, καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν*, τ 40 *ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν*. The attraction of the antecedent noun into the relative clause is too common after *οἷος* to need any illustration. But it may be worth while to consider briefly the remaining instances of this contraction (*ἀθλ.*) of the cognates of *ἄεθλον*. The contraction of the simple noun is, as I have said, unique here. These other instances are six in number, seven, if we count a repeated line. We have *ἀθλήσαντες* twice (H 453, O 30). I have already dealt with these passages in a discussion of the former line Journ. Phil. XXIV. 48, p. 278, and need say no more of them. Ω 734 *ἀθλεύων* may be dismissed as late. Either the composer himself did not accurately realise the proper sense of *ἀεθλεύω*, for which see Δ 389, Ψ 274, 737, or possibly he wrote *θητεύων*, which some one afterwards altered to save the royal dignity. We next come to two instances of *ἀθλοφόρος*:—

I 124 *πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο* = 266
Λ 699 *τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν.*

In the first case *πῆγας ἀεθλοφόρους* (Brandreth) is probably right. *πῆγες* from *πηγός* would be fairly paralleled by *ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι* beside *ἐρίηρος ἑταῖρος*. But there is even less difficulty here, as no well established singular form *πηγός* has to be discounted. There is only *κύματι πηγῷ* at the end of a line (ε 388). In the second Λ 699 a transposition leads directly to an easy remedy:—

*αὐτοῖς τέσσαρες ἵπποι ἀεθλοφόροι σὺν ὄχεσφιν.*

Cf. X 22 *σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν*, and for the rhythm:—

E 222 *οἷοι Τρώιοι ἵπποι ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο.*

Of course the metre would allow the commencement *τέσσαρες αὐτοῖσ'* with elision, if preferred.

There is now left to be noticed only the concluding line of this speech of Euryalus:—

*κερδέων θ' ἁρπαλέων· οὐδ' ἀθλητῆρι ἔοικας.*

It would be possible to suggest *μάλ' ἀεθλητῆρι* with contemptuous irony: but the whole line seems rather like a later addition, 'e commentis ortus' (Knight). Over and above the objection to *ἀθλητῆρι*, the ground on which Knight based his rejection of the line, there are suspicious features about the adj. *ἁρπαλέων*. It is difficult to believe that the meaning, 'alluring,' 'attractive,' given by Liddell and Scott for this passage, is Homeric at all. The use of the adverb *ἁρπαλέως* is not reconcilable with such a sense. On the other hand, if the meaning be 'snatched,' 'plundered,' it seems hardly consistent to make this a reproach to a trader in an age, when plundering open and avowed in the form of piracy was an honourable calling. Moreover the speech would end effectively enough with *ὀδαίων* instead of with the mere repetition of the all too near opening remark.

In l. 163 *εἶσιν* should be accepted from P 1 man. and Schol. H. rather than *ᾖσιν*, not only because the only genuine Homeric form of the subj. is *ἔῃσιν*, but because, while palaeographically the two words are identical EICIN, the subjunctive here is entirely out of place.

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*θ* 305 *σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβόησε, γέγωνέ τε πᾶσι θεοῖσι.*

If we accept this—the traditional form of the line—we cannot escape the necessity of believing that Homer practically made no distinction, if so inclined, between a perfect and a pluperfect form, that although he was under ordinary circumstances willing to submit to the general laws of language and allow *γέγωνα* to mean 'I shout,' but (*ἐ*)*γεγώνεα* 'I shouted,' yet he did not hesitate on occasion to override even such a fundamental distinction as this, and sometimes to treat the perf. *γέγωνε* as equivalent to the pluperf. *γεγώνει*, as in the present line. The truth is these grammatical solecisms are not to be charged to Homer at all. They have one and all been foisted into the text, and modern editors, deeply impressed by the legal maxim that possession is nine points of the law, have not ventured to question their validity, much less to expel them as intruders. There is also this peculiarity about them, which has greatly favoured their maintenance, that they have only ventured to inflict themselves upon those verbs which, like weakly and ailing plants, have lacked strength to protect themselves from parasitic growths. We do not find verbs, that have preserved their vigour and vitality in the later language, suffering in this way. Words like *ἕστηκα*, *πέποιθα*, *οἶδα*, *πέφυκα* (but v. *η* 114) &c. are, and always have been, safe enough from these attacks. Perhaps we should say they have had friends to stand by them, to raise their voices in their behalf and save them from maltreatment. It is only the obsolete word, deserted and friendless, that has been permanently damaged. *δείδιε* twice appears as a pluperfect, v. Journ. Phil. xxv. 50, p. 320, and the martyrdom of *ἄνωγα* might move a heart of stone to pity. Unfortunately its wounds remain and are kept rankling by the timidity and thematic plasters of philologists. At present however we are only concerned with the rescue of *γέγωνε*. *ἄνωγα*, with any companions in misfortune it may have, must wait patiently for deliverance in the hope that the dawn of a brighter day may come at last.

It will be sufficient to set forth the usage of our verb in the indicative mood and in the third pers. sing. only:—

ε 400 ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας
= ι 473, μ 181.

ζ 294 τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας·
X 34 ὑψόσ' ἀνασχόμενος, μέγα δ' οἰμώξας ἐγεγώνει·
Ψ 425 Ἀτρείδης δ' ἔδεισε καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ ἐγεγώνει·
φ 368 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀπειλήσας ἐγεγώνει.

So far all is normal and regular; nor is there much difficulty in:—

Ξ 469 Αἴας δ' αὖτ' ἐγέγωνεν ἀμύμονι Πουλυδάμαντι,

where it is obvious enough that the traditional ἐγέγωνεν is merely ἐγεγώνε' (ἐγεγώνεε) with a paragogic ν erroneously inserted in place of the apostrophe.

Then we come to our passage θ 305 and its one associate in the misery of corruption:—

Ω 703 κώκυσέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα γέγωνέ τε πᾶν κατὰ ἄστυ.

I would suggest that the former should be redeemed by an easy transposition thus:—

σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβόησε θεοῖσί τε πᾶσι γεγώνει·

and again in the latter instance, although there is also a possibility of restoring grammatical regularity by substituting βόησε for γέγωνε, we may employ similar means:—

κώκυσέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ' ἰδὲ πᾶν κατὰ ἄστυ γεγώνει.

Nauck's ἐγέγωνες for ἐβόησας (δ 281) is a barbarism not to be tolerated even in an interpolated passage.

In two passages our verb is open to some suspicion, as it can hardly bear, certainly not with any obvious propriety, its ordinary sense of shouting. First comes:

μ 370 οἰμώξας δὲ θεοῖσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γεγώνευν.

Odysseus was not 'in the company of the immortal gods,' nor, if he had been, would shouting have been comme il faut on his part. The case is different with Hephaestus (θ 305). Clearly the expression is drawn from X 34 quoted above, and therefore Bekker's μέγ' for μετ' is likely to be right. γεγώνευν remains a difficulty. But what are we to say of:—

ρ 161 *ἥμενος ἐφρασάμην καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ ἐγεγώνευν?* ~
It was disallowed by Aristarchus along with l. 160 with good reason. It reminds one very forcibly of the words of Humpty Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's 'Through the Looking-glass,' p. 134:—

I said it very loud and clear;
I went and shouted in his ear.

Whether Telemachus behaved as the next couplet describes is not revealed; but no one could blame him, if he did:—

But he was very stiff and proud;
He said 'You needn't shout so loud!'

In these last two passages the thematic *γεγώνευν* may be taken to be the nearest approach to an original *γεγώνεα* with monosyllabic *-εα*, that could pass through the mill-stones of tradition.

In connection with this verb it is of interest to note that in the recovered Bacchylides (III. 35) we have:—

*χέρας δ' ἐς*
*αἰπὺν αἰθέρα σφετέρας ἀείρας*
*γέγωνεν.*

This might have served as an indication more or less definite of the period (about 500 B.C.), before which the original usage was lost and superseded by the loose treatment of *γέγωνε* as a past tense. Unfortunately however the verb here is by no means assured. The papyrus has preserved only the last three letters NEN, so that the true reading may conceivably have been *λίταινεν* or *λίτανεν* (aor.) or something similar. Certainly we have here no warrantable authority for *γέγωνεν*.

Let me add that B. ought to have written, though I do not say he did write:—

*αἰθέρ' ἀμφοτέρας.*

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ι 27 *τρηχεῖ ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔ τοι ἐγώ γε*
*ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.*
*ἥ μέν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων,*
*[ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι·]*

Modern editors since Wolf (1807) have bracketed l. 30: Ludwich (1889) omits it altogether from the text and consigns it to the obscurity of the foot-notes. Nor is this at all surprising. Only XD and H in margine contain the line: it is not found in FGPHSTUKW. From this evidence it seems certain that the verse is merely a marginal illustration, brought in here appropriately enough to explain the true meaning of *αὐτόθι* in l. 29. Nor indeed is such explanation unnecessary here. So needful is it that I do not think it is in any wise possible to rest satisfied with Ludwich's:—

*ἦ μέν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων·*

The reason is this. A definite place has just been mentioned with some particularity, Ithaca, the home of the hero, who is also the speaker. *αὐτόθι*, 'there,' 'on the spot,' coming immediately after this notice inevitably suggests Ithaka as the place of detention, whereas every one knows it was Ogygia. Clearly it must have been a feeling that *αὐτόθι* taken in its natural sense was misleading, that led to the introduction from *α* 15 of the elucidatory but almost universally discredited l. 30.

Now while the exclusion of this line is not only fully justified but absolutely required by the evidence of the MSS., on the other hand it is certain that the result thereby attained is anything but satisfactory. The situation is peculiar. We can neither do with the explanatory words nor yet without them,

*οὔτε σὺν πανωλέθροισιν οὔτ' ἄνευ πανωλέθρων.*

Tradition is against their retention: the sense will hardly allow them to be dropt. This leads me to suspect that the original reading of l. 29 must have been somewhat different from the vulgate. The difference need not be a great one. By merely altering two letters a solution of the dilemma is attainable. All difficulty disappears, if we suppose that the original text ran:—

*ἦ μέν μ' ἄλλοθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων.*

'In another place,' 'elsewhere,' 'not in Ithaca' is precisely the contrast that suits the preceding description: and although *ἄλλοθι*, like *αὐτόθι*, is correctly explained by l. 30 as an illus-

trative comment, yet, unlike *αὐτόθι*, it by no means requires it as a necessary supplement.

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*ι* 153 *νῆσον θαυμάζοντες ἐδινεόμεσθα κατ' αὐτήν.*

In the preceding discussion of *ι* 29 we found a difficulty about the adverb *αὐτόθι*, for which it was proposed that *ἄλλοθι* should be read. We have not had far to go for a parallel case. Here again there is something odd about *αὐτήν*, and here again it seems to me that something may be said in favour of accepting *ἄλλην* as the true original.

The received text says 'we roamed over the island itself,' unless in sheer desperation we separate *νῆσον* from *κατ' αὐτήν* altogether and take the former with *θαυμάζοντες* and the latter with *ἐδινεόμεσθα*, treating *αὐτήν* as an unemphatic anaphoric pronoun. This course however has little probability in its favour. Dr Merry seems to combine both views, for he says that '*κατ' αὐτήν* is to be taken closely with the verb, *αὐτήν* serving to contrast the island itself with the shore and the water.' Nitzsch offers a somewhat curious explanation of the phrase 'through the island itself,' making a sort of contrast which depends upon the fact that Odysseus has just given an account of the island. He and his men explored the island in its reality. Jetzt nahmen sie betrachten mit Staunen wahr, was Odysseus schon berichtet hat. This view takes us into metaphysical Teutonic depths and is certainly not Homeric, whatever else it may be. Loewe (1828) and Ameis-Hentze (1893) pass *αὐτήν* without remark, which is perhaps the simplest way of getting rid of the difficulty.

If one or other of the above explanations should commend itself to the reader's judgement, there is no need to proceed further; but for those, who like myself cannot either agree in divorcing *αὐτήν* from *νῆσον* or find any reasonable probability in the above somewhat forced explanations of *κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσον*, the suggestion I have made is worth consideration:—

*νῆσον θαυμάζοντες ἐδινεόμεσθα κατ' ἄλλην.*

There is an ambiguity certainly about *ἄλλην*, which may, it

is not unlikely, have led to its disappearance. It may mean 'another island' as well as what I take to be the sense here, 'the rest of the island.' But this is a harmless ambiguity inherent in the word and hardly need be apologised for in Homer, though he undoubtedly frequently agrees with the later Greeks in using the article with *ἄλλοι* in the sense of the Latin, caeteri, but only, apparently, in the plural number. Aristarchus denied this use of the article, and refused to regard it as anything but a pronoun when joined with *ἄλλοι*. In this however few would now side with the great critic. For *ἄλλος* = 'the rest' v. Γ 68 = H 49, δ 285, ε 110. Granting then the correctness of *κατ' ἄλλην νῆσον* to express in epic times 'the rest of the island' for the later phrase *κατ' ἄλλην τὴν νῆσον*, I venture to say that its superiority here over the vulgate *αὐτήν* admits of no denial or qualification. Whether *ἄλλην* will hereafter be found in one or more MSS., time alone will show. At present no apparatus criticus notices the word *αὐτήν* at all. There can be no harm in saying that the point deserves the attention of specialists.

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ι 205 (*οἶνον*) *ἡδὺν ἀκηράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν· οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν*
*ἠείδη δμώων οὐδ' ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,*
*ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄλοχός τε φίλη ταμίη τε μί' οἴη.*
*τὸν δ' ὅτε πίνοιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν,*
*ἓν δέπας ἐμπλήσας ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα*
*χεῦ', ὀδμὴ δ' ἡδεῖα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει*
*θεσπεσίη.*

The lines here quoted may be passed over lightly as far as regards the first three in order to come at once to the very difficult and unsatisfactory ll. 208—9.

In l. 205 we have another good instance of *αὐτόν* in its later unemphatic sense, again displacing in all probability an original *ἄλλος*, cf. ρ 401, σ 416. The fact that *ἄλλος* here is more idiomatic than logical would perhaps contribute as much as anything else to its downfall. For reading *αὐτός τ'* in l. 207 there is some little MSS. authority ($H^2$Ki) in addition to the requirements of metre.

The ordinary version of ll. 208—9 is as follows:—'And oft as they drank that red wine honey-sweet, he would fill one cup and pour it into twenty measures of water' (Butcher and Lang). First of all the use of *τόν* here is not exactly Homeric. It is hardly to be classed as a substantival or attributive article followed by a noun in apposition, nor again as the defining article combined with a noun in apposition and followed by a relative as in E 265, v. Monro H. G. § 261. Moreover its position before, instead of after, the conjunction, *ὅτε*, is scarcely to be defended by such instances of trajection as *ι* 15, *μ* 140, 331 &c. The addition of *μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν* is incompatible with the emphasis which trajection would cause *τόν* to carry. I venture to say we should proceed more easily and naturally, as far as the middle of the next line at any rate, by reading:—

*τοῦ δ', ὅτε πίνοιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν,*
*ἓν δέπας ἐμπλήσας.*

'But *with it*, when they were for drinking red wine honey-sweet, he filled one cup,—.' *τοῦ* of course depends on *ἐμπλήσας*, as indeed it does a line or two further on:—

212 *τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν,*

where I am obliged to dissent from Ameis-Hentze's statement that it depends on *ἀσκόν*, in which case there would be no need for *ἐμπλήσας* at all.

With this restoration of *τοῦ* for *τόν* the passage is relieved of a harshness that none can be concerned to maintain or tolerate; but there still remains the much vexed conclusion of the sentence:—

*ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα*
*χεῦ'.*

This is beset with difficulties. That the proceeding here described reverses the usual custom in later times, of adding the water to the wine instead of the wine to the water, I deem of little moment taking into consideration the special circumstances of the case, the abnormal strength of the wine proportionate to the gigantic creature it was intended to intoxicate.

In fact the accepted proportion of twenty to one is probably far less than what Homer had in view; for it seems almost impossible in face of such passages as:—

β 355 εἴκοσι δ' ἔστω μέτρα μυληφάτου ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆς,
Η 471 δῶκεν Ἰησονίδης ἀγέμεν μέθυ, χίλια μέτρα,
Ψ 741 ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα τετυγμένον· ἓξ δ' ἄρα μέτρα
χάνδανεν,
264 καὶ τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα δυωκαιεικοσίμετρον,

to understand μέτρον here as loosely equivalent to δέπας. There is no authority whatever for so regarding it, unless we can find warrant in the present passage. According to Hultsch (Meterologie p. 499) the μέτρον was equal to 12·12 litres or nearly 3 gallons; but this seems excessive even for the region of fable. Let us pass on to the grammatical construction of the clause, which has its peculiar uncertainties. Some have taken ἀνά as separated by tmesis from χεῦε. But this, though Homeric in appearance, is in reality meaningless. It by no means follows, because ἀνέμιξε (δ 41, κ 235) means 'he mixed up,' that ἀνέχευε could bear the same sense. We might just as well maintain that, because we can say in English 'to mix up,' we could also express the same idea with equal accuracy by 'to pour up.' It is fairly certain then that ἀνά is a preposition governing εἴκοσι μέτρα, and the meaning can hardly be other than 'up to,' 'to the extent of.'

The next question is, what is the object of the verb χεῦε? It is usual to say δέπας or, as it might be expressed with more precision in Latin, poculum vini impletum. The objection to this view is, that it leaves ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα without any suitable sense at all. The local sense of 'over' for ἀνά is perhaps the most feasible, but is not altogether pleasing. Again 'he poured a cupful of wine to the extent of twenty measures of water' fails to convey the obviously intended meaning. Messrs Butcher and Lang's 'into' would unfortunately require more justification than is likely to be forthcoming. It would be far better to give up δέπας as the object, and to find one in the whole phrase ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα ὕδατος, 'about twenty measures of water.' We might regard this phrase grammatically as an

abbreviated expression for the needlessly full *μέτρα ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα*, 'measures of water to the amount of twenty (measures).' However, as I do not for a moment believe that *ὕδατος ἀνά* is capable of scansion in the hexameter, I would suggest that the original reading was not *ὕδατος* but *ὕδωρ*, altered in later times to avoid the then objectionable *ῡ* (Journ. Phil. XXVI. p. 145).

Lastly there is *χεῦ'* itself to be considered. The aor. is here as much out of place as it can well be. There is no question but that the imperfect is urgently required by the sense. Supposing for a moment that some modern critic had in an unlucky moment suggested the aor. here as an emendation of some verb or other in the imperfect, already in the text, the suggestion would have been scouted on all sides as intolerable and absurd. Yet few have ventured to throw suspicion upon this *χεῦ'*, which has evidently displaced an imperfect. We ought certainly to restore this tense in some form or other, if it can be done. Fick, who apparently despairs of success, with his usual boldness tries to restore regularity by the excision of l. 209. The success of his remedy here is not conspicuous. He would read:—

*τὸν δ' ὅτε πίνοιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν,*
*ὀδμὴ δὲ Fηδεῖα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει.*

The last line certainly is rough enough to set one's teeth on edge, a result not entirely due to the sauerkraut of hiatus *licitus*. Van Leeuwen and Da Costa object to *δέ* after the curtailment and not without reason; but, feeling the charm of Fick's reconstructed line, would retain both it and 209 with this alteration at the end of the last named:—

*ἐπὶ εἴκοσ' ἔχενε,*

thus leaving the aorist after all untouched. These remedies, if so they can be called, seem decidedly worse than the disease. *Χέω* makes in the imperf. (3 sing.) *ἔχεεν*, which curiously enough is also the 1 aor. (3 sing.), at any rate in later Attic. This *ἔχεεν* could of course be scanned as an iambus, and might be written with contraction *ἔχειν* or, with the augment dropped,

χεῖν. The difficulty of preserving such a form as this, even if it was ever accepted, would plainly be insuperable. There is however an alternative. Just as we have πλέω and many similar verbs occasionally appearing with the penultimate lengthened, πλείων (participle), πλείειν, ἀπέπλειον (θ 501), so χέω might very well have possessed an analogous imperf. ἔχειον. This would give us here the at least tolerable form χεῖ' (ἔχειε). The remainder of this line has been dealt with already under θ 64. If I am right, the whole passage would stand thus :—

οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
ἠείδη δμώων οὐδ' ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
ἀλλ' αὐτός τ' ἄλοχός τε φίλη ταμίη τε μί' οἴη.
τοῦ δ', ὅτε πίνοιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν,
ἓν δέπας ἐμπλήσας ὕδωρ ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα
χεῖ', ὀδμὴ δ' ἄρα ἡδὺς ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει
θεσπεσίη.

'Nor did any one else among the thralls and waiting-women in his house know thereof, only himself and dear wife and one housekeeper. But whenever they were for drinking honey-sweet red wine, he would fill one goblet with this, and pour water to the amount of twenty measures (sc. into the κρητήρ), and then from the mixing-bowl there rose a fragrance ineffably sweet.'

*

ι 215 ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας.

We have here a very excellent instance of that hiatus, which many eminent scholars hail with delight and cherish as *licitus*. To magnify this cult by the increase and multiplication of such instances ranks as a triumph of critical skill. Consequently, if this hiatus were the only fault or, let me say rather, peculiarity exhibited by the line, it would be hopeless at present to question its absolute and perfect integrity: but, as in other cases previously dealt with, there is here over and above the bucolicism an irregularity of expression, which has, I suppose, only been condoned hitherto out of a superstitious reverence for the beauty of the hiatus.

The irregularity I allude to will be at once apparent, if we consider for a moment a line, which corresponds very closely to this one in form:—

δ 818 *νήπιος, οὔτε πόνων ἐὺ εἰδὼς οὔτ' ἀγοράων.*

The invariable usage is that *εὖ εἰδώς* takes the genitive in reference to general knowledge or, as is commonly stated, when it means 'skilled in.' The instances are numerous, B 718, Δ 196, 206, 310, Z 438, M 350, 363, O 525, 527, ε 250, B 823, E 11, 549, B 720. Once the infinitive follows, O 679 *κελητίζειν ἐὺ εἰδώς*, but this forms no exception to the rule, as would be clear from B 720:—

*τόξων ἐὺ εἰδότες ἶφι μάχεσθαι,*

if *ἶφι* had not, unfortunately both for the metre and the sense, ousted the original connective:—

*τόξων ἐὺ εἰδότες ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.* (Bentley)

On the other hand, if the knowledge extends only to a single isolated fact, then and then only *εὖ εἰδώς* may properly be followed by an accusative. The case is naturally a rare one: indeed there is but one valid example, so far as I am aware, in Homer, but that one is enough for our purpose:—

N 665 *ὅς ῥ' ἐὺ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοὴν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε.*

It is his own individual doom that he was well aware of, when he went on shipboard.

Why then does no MS. present the genitive in our passage? The sense requires it: the scansion would allow its introduction. The answer is that the tradition has been faithful in transmitting the accusative only. The error lies not in the nouns, *δίκας* and *θέμιστας*, but in the participial *εὖ εἰδότα*. We have in fact to deal with a corruption of the usual kind. A familiar phrase of frequent occurrence has dislodged a less familiar and almost forgotten form. The genuine word, the original occupant, is suggested by *θέμιστας*. Remembering:—

A 238 *οἵ τε θέμιστας*
*πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται·*

we may restore with some confidence the proper governance of our accusatives:—

*οὔτε δίκας εἰρυμένον οὔτε θέμιστας.*

We have Φ 229 *βουλὰς | εἰρύσαο Κρονίωνος*, ψ 81 *θεῶν—δήνεα εἴρυσθαι*, and even in association with the other noun here used, though the form of the phrase is different:—

Π 542 *ὃς Λυκίην εἴρυτο δίκῃσί τε καὶ σθένεϊ ᾧ.*
Hym. Dem. 151 *κρήδεμνα πόληος*
*εἰρύαται βουλῇσι καὶ ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν.*

T. L. AGAR.

## SOME PLAUTINE EMENDATIONS.

Before entering on the proper subject of this article, I should like to express a conviction, with which I trust the rest of the article will not appear inconsistent, that the emendation of our traditional text of Plautus should never be attempted in the absence of cogent reasons for departure from the MSS. Whatever may be the case with other Latin or Greek texts, the whole course of the recent study of Plautus has impressed on us the lesson that safety lies in adherence to the MSS., and that more permanent good is done by a critic who vindicates the traditional reading than by the most brilliant representative of the school of Cobet. To appreciate the truth of this, one has only to look at the mass of conjectural emendations selected as worthy of mention in the *apparatus criticus* of the large Teubner edition by Goetz, Loewe, and Schoell, and to note how not one in a hundred of them has been accepted in the two recent editions of Plautus, the small Teubner text and Leo's text. These emendations, so confidently proposed by their authors, have been found on more careful investigation to be inconsistent with the linguistic usage of Plautus, in some cases requiring an abnormal arrangement of words, in others an illegitimate metrical ictus. For it is being more and more clearly revealed to us that Plautus follows in his dialogue a prescribed order of words, from which he does not depart, except occasionally through metrical necessity, and that he allows certain current phrases to exhibit only one type of metrical ictus; in short, that his dialogue reflects, as faithfully as the limitations of verse will allow, the actual spoken language and the actual sentence-accentuation of educated Romans of his time. For example, Plautus uses such phrases

as *aequom uidetur, aequom censeo, veniat velim, hercle opinor, credo hercle, perii hercle, facere certumst, quid ego audio?*, with this and with no other order of their component words. The phrases *ei rei operam dabam, voluptas mea, volo scire,* to take a few examples out of many, bear in his lines the metrical ictus, *ēi r(ei) operám dabam, volŭptás mea, volŏ scíre.* It is clear that these phrases were current in his day with the same order of words and with a sentence-accentuation corresponding to the metrical ictus which he assigns to them in his lines. The importance of these minute points, points which were deemed unworthy of notice by the robust critics of a former generation, is now being recognized. Emendations are indeed still made which take no account of them, and will probably continue to be made, so long as, in the words of Thucydides, "human nature remains the same"; but they do not receive the approbation of the leading Plautine scholars. Let me give an example. In the *Aulularia*, v. 262, our MSS. exhibit an apparently unmetrical Trochaic Septenarius:

A. *Hodie quin faciamus num quae causa est?* B. *Immo edepol optuma.*

The line has the other day been emended (the emendation is really as old as Bothe) by the transposition of *causa* and *est*, which furnishes a line correct in metre:

A. *Hódie quin faciámus num quae est caúsa?* B. *Immo edepol óptuma.*

But how can we accept this emendation, when we find the phrase *num quae causa est* occurring again and again in the lines of Plautus and invariably with this order of the words, never with the order *num quae est causa?* If indeed our MSS. had exhibited the abnormal order, there would have been ground for consideration whether Plautus might not have allowed himself in this single instance to vary the current form of the phrase. But to force an abnormal form of a phrase into a line in despite of the MSS. is a proceeding that cannot be countenanced for one moment. Even so great a scholar as the late Prof. Ribbeck has in his recent edition of the Fragments of

the Roman Dramatists introduced into more than one line words or arrangement of words that have no parallel in the diction of Plautus and Terence. Festus, for example, quotes a line of Livius Andronicus in illustration of the Old Latin word *scena* (cf. Irish *sgian*?), or *sacena* (? *secena*), a priest's knife:

*Corrúit quasi ictus scéna, haut multó secus.*

Ribbeck, doubting the dactylic scansion of *corruit* in the first foot and the hiatus at the pause in the sentence, both of them licences not unknown in Early Latin Poetry, inserts the word *sicine* before *haut* or *haud* (which he changes to *hau*), so as to produce a Trochaic Septenarius:

A. *Córruit quasi íctus secena.* B. *Sícine?* A. *Hau multó secus.*

But he has failed to observe that the Dramatists use *itane*, never *sicine*, in this type of question. A comparison of other passages of Plautus where the same or a similar phrase occurs is an indispensable preliminary to a satisfactory emendation of the traditional text. And the new readings revealed by recent discoveries of additional manuscript evidence are, for the most part, such as would have been suggested by a comparison of this kind. For example, in *Poen.* 504 the right reading now appears to have been *nequius* (so the *Codex Turnebi*), not *iniquius* (*inequius* in our other minuscule MSS.):

*Íta me di ament tárdo amico níhil est quicquam néquius.*

We might have guessed the word from a comparison of *Bacch.* 651 *nequius nil est quam egens consili seruos.*

In *Rud.* 186 the opening part of the line, which is missing in our MSS., turns out to have been *quam in usu* (uisu *cod. Turn.*):

*Nimio hominum fortunae minus miserae memorantur,*
*Quam in usu, experiundo iis datur acerbum.*

A similar phrase in the *Bacchides* might have given us the clue (v. 63):

*quia istaec lépida sunt memorátui:*
*Éadem in usu atque úbi periclum fácias, aculeáta sunt.*

And the missing end of the line in the *Rudens* (v. 712), where the decipherment of a few letters in the Ambrosian Palimpsest narrowed the limits of selection, might have been satisfactorily supplied with the help of v. 1380 *cedo quicum habeam iudicem.* The evidence of the *Codex Turnebi* indicates as the true form of the line:

A. *Méas mihi ancillás inuito me éripis.* B. *Habe iúdicem Dé senatu Cýrenensi.*

The evidence of our MSS., when rightly sifted, appears to be very strong evidence indeed, which cannot be disregarded with impunity. The condition of the Plautus MSS., though only one of them is older than the end of the tenth century, is very satisfactory. Nor is this peculiar to MSS. of Plautus. The recent discoveries in Egypt are teaching us the lesson of respect for mediaeval MSS. The text of our MSS. of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries is again and again shewn by Egyptian papyrus-fragments to be in the main identical with the text of ancient recensions, belonging to the fourth, third, second, or even the first century of our era. A common case in the history of the transmission of a Latin text is this. At the revival of learning under Charlemagne, some majuscule text (in capitals or uncials), a text, let us say, of the 4th, 5th, or 6th century and thus belonging to the ancient world, would be taken down from the shelves of some famous Monastery Library, e.g. Fleury, on the banks of the Loire, and would be copied in the new minuscule script. The copy, now and then the original itself, would be passed on from one monastery library to another for the purpose of transcription; and in this way a number of copies would rapidly be made, some of which were sure to survive to our own time. In fact, the number of extant Latin MSS. of the 9th and 10th centuries points to an activity on the part of Carolingian transcribers that is little short of amazing. A good example of this typical course of transmission of a Latin text is furnished by the text of Livy. In the Regina collection at the Vatican (Reg. 762) is a 9th century minuscule MS. of the third decade of Livy, which was transcribed by certain monks of Tours from

the famous Paris uncial MS. of the 5th century (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 5730). The Vatican copy is a beautiful specimen of the developed calligraphy of Tours. But in general the first Carolingian transcripts of ancient MSS. would be in the ruder and less easily deciphered minuscule of an earlier type, which abounded in ligatures and contractions that were discarded by a later generation and were often quite unfamiliar to the copyists in succeeding centuries. The transcription of these in the 10th or 11th centuries was naturally a fruitful source of corruption in texts; and a knowledge of the earlier system of contractions and of ligatures is most important for editors of Latin authors. Unfortunately these older minuscule MSS. were generally destroyed, when a copy in the script current in a later century had been made. Specimens are to be found in a limited number of libraries, and it is rare to find more than one or two specimens in the same library. Since there is no book dealing specially with the early type of minuscule, the knowledge of its peculiarities can be gained only by those who are willing to undergo the trouble and expense of visiting the various libraries, such as the Library of Cologne Cathedral, where specimens are to be found.

Another typical case of transmission of a Latin text is its preservation through the Dark Ages in some Irish monastery; for from the 6th to the 8th centuries, it was Ireland that was the home of the learning and culture of Europe. A band of Irish missionaries would carry the text with them to some Irish monastery on the Continent, and it would ultimately be transcribed in Caroline minuscule. This transcription was a still more fruitful source of textual corruptions than the other. The unfamiliarity of Irish minuscule is abundantly evidenced by MSS. such as a 9th century St Ambrose, in Irish minuscule script, at Florence (Laur. Ashb. 60 c. 55), in which certain peculiarly Irish contractions and ligatures are interpreted by suprascript entries in Caroline minuscule. A sure indication of an Irish archetype is the substitution of words like *hoc* or *enim* for *autem*, a confusion produced by the tachygraphical symbol used for *autem* in Irish script. A knowledge of the peculiarities of early Irish minuscule is as important for the editor of Latin

texts as an acquaintance with the transition-script between Merovingian and developed Caroline. It is much to be regretted that there is no handbook on the subject, and that Irish minuscule has received so scant attention even from our own writers on Latin palaeography. There is no lack of material in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, the British Museum, and the Bodleian.

Our oldest MS. of Plautus, a MS. that is unfortunately only fragmentary and in many parts illegible, belonged, in all probability, to the Irish Monastery of Bobbio in N. Italy. The Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus may be added to the list of palimpsest codices that come from that famous library. It is a MS. of the 4th (some say the 3rd) century, written in capitals (with the K-form of H), and containing 19 lines in each page. Becoming palimpsest in the 8th century it played no part in the transmission of the text of Plautus in the Middle Ages. All our other MSS. of Plautus are minuscule, the oldest and best, the *Codex Vetus*, belonging to the end of the 10th century. The history of their text is like that of the Vatican Livy. An ancient MS., written in capitals (with the K-form of H) and containing 19 to 21 lines in each page, was in some French library found in a somewhat tattered condition, with portions lost here and there, and was transcribed into early minuscule, let us say, in the 8th or 9th centuries. After its transcription on French soil, another transcript was made in Germany; and since the original was evidently in a more tattered condition at the time of the second transcription, we may hazard a guess that it had been itself transmitted to some German monastery to be copied and had suffered in the journey. This German transcript was in two volumes, one containing the first eight plays, the other the last twelve. The second part of the *Codex Vetus* is apparently a direct copy of the second volume. The direct copy of the first volume, with the first eight plays, has been lost; but the valuable corrections in these plays in the *Codex Vetus* look as though they had been taken from this source; so that we may consider the whole corrected text of the *Codex Vetus* to be a very fair reproduction of the lost minuscule original. Until recently a certain suspicion of the evidence of

our minuscule MSS. of Plautus was legitimate; for, after all, their united testimony could furnish us only with the text of this minuscule original of the 8th or 9th century, a somewhat late authority for the text of an author who lived some ten or eleven centuries earlier. But the discovery in the Bodleian Library of a collation of the *Codex Turnebi*, a codex copied from the earlier French transcription of the ancient archetype, shews us that we shall not often err if we regard the text of the *Codex Vetus* as substantially the same as the text of this ancient archetype. This archetype was apparently of much the same antiquity as the Ambrosian Palimpsest, and had, like it, the Cantica arranged according to the Alexandrian Colometry, with long lines beginning at the extreme left hand margin (*ἐν ἐκθέσει*) and shorter lines beginning nearer the centre of the page (*ἐν εἰσθέσει*). We have thus practically two MSS. of Plautus that belong to the ancient world, one actually extant in fragmentary form, often illegible, the other preserved only in minuscule copies. Where the evidence of both of these ancient texts is available, that is to say in the passages preserved in the Ambrosian Palimpsest, the *consensus* of the pair gives us the text current in the Early Empire, a text which we can hardly hope or indeed wish to improve; their variance, if not due to a mere scribe's error, exhibits to us the divergence of two rival ancient recensions. The passages quoted by ancient Grammarians, such as Nonius Marcellus, Charisius, Priscian, often give us glimpses of another recension or other recensions. Who will deny that our evidence for the text of Plautus is too strong to be put aside without good cause? Even in the minor matter of orthography it is dangerous to depart from the MSS. This has been strikingly shewn by the recent investigation by a foreign student, Dr Brock, into the spelling of Superlatives in Plautus. The three editors of the large Teubner text printed invariably the Superlative ending as *-umus*, whether the MSS. exhibited *-umus* or *-imus*. In their edition we find invariably *optumus*, invariably *minumus*, and so on. Few will be inclined to blame them for this. The older form of the termination of *optimus*, *maximus* we know to be *-umus*; and the change of the old-

fashioned *-umus* to the more familiar *-imus* is a natural change for a scribe to make, whether in the ancient or the mediaeval period. Still the notable *consensus* of the Ambrosian and the minuscule MSS. in the spelling, now *-umus*, e.g. *optumus*, now *-imus*, e.g. *minimus*, could not fail to make a thoughtful student a little doubtful of the wisdom of the three editors in this particular. And now Dr Brock has shewn that the evidence of the ancient inscriptions is remarkably in accord with our MSS. in exhibiting the spelling *-umus* in some Superlatives, such as *optumus*, where the *o* of the neighbouring syllable exercised the same preserving influence as the *e* of the first syllable of *elego*, *neglego*, *delego* (contrast *diligo*), but *-imus* in a Superlative like *minimus*, where the change to *i* was early effected under the influence of the *i* of the first syllable. To give the same spelling to *minimus* as to *optumus* is like forcing upon *incipio* the *u* of *occupo*. The orthography which an editor of Plautus aims at restoring is that of the earliest edition of a play or of the collected plays, the orthography, we may surmise, of the latter part of the second century B.C. A form like *minumus* turns out to be quite alien to the orthography of that period, and possibly of earlier periods too. The result then of the requirement of a consistent spelling of Superlatives throughout the plays has been to foist on the text a form, the very existence of which in correct Latin of any period is somewhat doubtful. Whether the exigencies of the schoolboy's mind require an even greater consistency in the spelling of his Latin texts than he is accustomed to in his English texts, with their varieties like *gaol* and *jail*, *judgement* and *judgment*, *by-law* and *bye-law*, is a question for each editor of a school-edition to settle for himself. But the editor who writes for scholars cannot shut his eyes to the fact that the uniformity of spelling which the invention of printing has brought into modern languages was unknown to ancient authors; and that when he follows the best orthography of his MSS., he is at least using spellings which had an actual place in the text at some period or other of its transmission; whereas if he lays down arbitrary rules of his own, such as that the Superlative in the earliest recension of Plautus was always spelt with *-umus*, not *-imus*,

he runs the risk of introducing into his text forms that "would make Quintilian stare and gasp."

When we pass in review those portions of the plays in which the evidence of the Ambrosian Palimpsest or of the *Codex Turnebi* enables us to determine with certainty the amount and nature of the corruption of our extant minuscule MSS., we become aware of the great length that what may be called scientific or palaeographical emendation, emendation based on a knowledge of the practice of mediaeval scribes, will carry us in a restoration of the true text. The simplicity of the history of transmission of our minuscule text of Plautus, a text directly transcribed from capital script into minuscule script of an apparently not too rude and early type, and the proximity of the *Codex Vetus* and the *Codex Turnebi* to the earliest transcriptions, narrow very considerably the field of possibilities. We cannot explain a corruption by the hypothesis of an original in uncial or half-uncial, or Irish, or Lombard, or Visigothic script. That favourite resort of hard-pressed editors, the early Roman cursive, we find no room for. All the corruptions which we can actually detect in the text of our extant minuscule MSS., corruptions absent from the ancient archetype of these MSS., we see to be easily explained by certain habits of mediaeval scribes, which are familiar to any one who has spent much time over early Caroline minuscule MSS., with the addition of a number that are peculiar to MSS. of ancient authors like Plautus. We may then with reason infer that the corruptions which have still to be detected in other portions of the plays will be found to have been produced in the same way. It is thus a necessity for an editor of Plautus, in view of the advanced stage which has been reached in our knowledge of the MSS., and of the history of the transmission of the text, to state, where it seems to be called for, a palaeographical justification of his departure from the reading of the MSS.

Absolute certainty, for instance, is attached to an emendation, like Leo's *optume est* for *optumum est* of the MSS. in *Capt.* 10:

*iam hoc tenetis? optume est,*

'do you understand this now? Very good,' when it is shewn not merely that Plautus uses the phrase *optumum est* only in the sense of 'it is the best course or alternative,' e.g. *Capt.* 557 *concedi optumum est*, 'it is best to retire,' while *optume est* is the Superlative of *bene est*, the sense required by this passage, but also that the scribes of MSS. of Plautus have again and again substituted *optumum est*, *minimum est*, and the like, for *optume est*, *minime est* (*Stich.* 120, 537, *Bacch.* 502), the cause of their error being their inability to appreciate rightly the ancient form of the phrase, *optumest*. They were apt to expand this wrongly as *optumum est*, instead of *optume est*.

It is astonishing how much light may be thrown on the nature of a corruption of the text by a consideration of the nature of early Carolingian MSS. In the *Truculentus*, for example, v. 103 ends in the *Codex Vetus* with the words *ceteri cleptae* preceded by the symbol *SS*, which is ordinarily the contraction for *supra scriptum*, *supra scripti*, etc., and is so interpreted by Leo in his note. Anyone who has noticed the common form of brackets used by early Carolingian scribes for marking off from the rest of a line the 'overflow' words which are inserted in the blank space at the end of it, words for which no room could be found at the end of their own line, will suspect that *SS* has come from a double bracket of this kind, and that the words *ceteri cleptae* were in the ancient archetype written in another line.

In *Curc.* 603 the 'vox nihili' of the MSS. *uois* has been emended in various ways:

A. *Mater ei utendum dederat.* B. *Pater †uois rusum tibi.*

If we remember that in early minuscule *vero* is written *ūo*, we can ascribe the corruption to the simple fact that the scribe of some original drew the contraction stroke above *u*, the symbol of *er*, with a dry pen and so left *uo* written instead of *uero*. This simple change gives an excellent line:

A. *Máter ei uténdum dederat.* B. *Páter uero is rusúm tibi*,

with that Plautine mannerism of attaching *is* to the subject of the sentence, as in *Cas.* 767 (cf. 55):

*Vilicus is autem cum corona, candide*
*Vestitus, lautus exornatusque ambulat.*

A spelling prevalent at the end of the second century B.C., the period to which we are accustomed to refer the earliest editions of the plays, was *qum* for *cum* or *quom*. This spelling has in many lines been faithfully preserved in the Ambrosian Palimpsest and in the minuscule MSS. too, though there was always a liability of its being changed to *quin* by a copyist, just as it has been, for no apparent reason, deliberately changed to *quom* by modern editors. In *Pers.* 442 the *Codex Turnebi* alone appears to have retained the original spelling, while both the Ambrosian Palimpsest and the immediate original of our extant minuscule MSS. have made independently the same mistake of writing *quin*:

*Mirum †quin citius iam a foro argentarii*
*Abeunt, quam in cursu rotula circumuortitur.*

Editors have changed *mirum quin*, which does not suit the sense of the passage, into *mirum ni*, while others, recognizing that this was too violent a departure from the reading attested by both the Palimpsest and our minuscule MSS., have retained *mirum quin*, but suppose a line or several lines to have been lost. But *mirum qum* of the *Codex Turnebi* gives exactly the sense required, 'Strange! for bankers nowadays leave the forum as swiftly as a wheel makes a revolution.' For the phrase cf. Lucr. vi. 130:

*Nec mirum, cum plena animae uensicula parua*
*Saepe ita dat magnum sonitum displosa repente,*

and for examples of the substitution of *quin* for *qum* in our MSS., *Men.* 227, 298, 1054, etc., etc.

In the *Captivi* our minuscule MSS. agree in exhibiting an extraordinary spelling *chautum* in v. 253, where Philocrates is addressing Hegio:

*Édepol tibi ne in quaéstione essémus cautum intéllego,*
*Íta uinclis custódiisque circummoenití sumus.*

But the 'corrector' of the *Codex Vetus*, who, as we have seen, appears to have taken his corrections from the minuscule

Archetype from which the immediate original of our MSS. of the first eight plays was copied, writes the word in its ordinary form *cautum*, though he strangely assigns both it and the following word to Hegio. We get, I think, an explanation of this curious fact, when we consider that words written in MSS. in some other place than that which they should properly occupy, often have the symbol *h* written above them, a symbol frequently answered by another *h* at their proper place in the text. In the Archetype we may suppose the words *cautum intellego* to have been written in the margin or some other available space with this *h*- symbol written above *cautum*. The scribe of the immediate original of our MSS. read the *h* as a letter that had been wrongly omitted and copied *chautum*; the 'corrector' took it for the 'nota personae' of Hegio.

The syllable *con-* was in minuscule often expressed by *c* with a horizontal line above, while the Conjunction *ut* might be indicated by the vowel *u* with a similar suprascript line. If these two contractions stood side by side in the immediate original of our MSS. in *Amph.* 546,

*Núnc te, nox, quae mé mansisti, mítto ut concedás die,*

we can understand how it is that the *Codex Vetus* and the inferior MSS. have *ut cedas*, while the *Codex Ursinianus*, which has in the early plays been copied directly from the same original as the *Codex Vetus* (*Harvard Studies* xi. 1898), has *nec cedas*. Leo, who does not recognize this relationship of the *Codex Ursinianus* to the *Codex Vetus*, prints *uti cedas*. But *concedo*, not *cedo*, is the Plautine verb to express the sense required here; cf. v. 276 *neque nox quoquam concedit die*.

We have seen how the archaic spelling *qum* proved a stumbling-block to scribes. It is possible that in *Amph.* 1108 another archaism, this time of grammar, rather than of spelling, has been obliterated in our MSS. In the passage in which the strangling of the serpents by the infant Hercules is described, two lines are printed by Leo in accordance with our MSS. as follows:

*Deuolant angues iubati deorsum in impluuium duo*
*Maximi: continuo extollunt ambo capita.*

But Nonius (191 M.) expressly attests the feminine gender of *angues* in this passage and quotes the first line with *iubatae*, though with *duo* (not *duae*, which is an arbitrary correction in one group of MSS. of Nonius). Can it have been that Plautus used *duo* as Fem., as in Homer the same dual ending -ω is used for Masc. and Fem. alike, δύω (cf. Att. ἄμφω Masc., Fem.)? If he did, we can understand how the contiguity of *duo, ambo* (cf. v. 1119 *ambo*) would effect in our MSS. of Plautus the change in the gender of the Adjectives *iubatae, maximae*, etc.

The fashion in Republican Latin of writing *est* as part of the preceding word we have already noted in the case of *optumest* as a source of corruption in our MSS. When the preceding word ended in *-um* we find both the spelling *-umst* and the spelling *-ust*, the latter perhaps corresponding to the pronunciation (cf. *mostellum* for *monstellum*, *tostrina* for *tonstrina*, *praemostro*, *commostro* for *praemonstro*, *commonstro*). Thus *-um est* and *-us est* when written in the old style were liable to confusion. Besides the *-st* puzzled scribes, who often change it to *sit*. The spelling *aequiust* (*aequiost?*) for *aequius est* seems to have been the cause of the divergent readings in v. 515 of the *Miles Gloriosus*, a play in which the evidence of the twin MSS., *C* and *D*, is of more worth than the evidence of *B*:

> *Ita súm coactus, Périplectomene, ut nésciam*
> *Utrúm me expostuláre prius tecum* aéquiust;
> *Nisi <si> ístaec non est haéc neque <haec> istást, mihi*
> *Me expúrigare tíbi uidetur aéquius.*

Here *CD* have *aequumst*, $B^1$ *aequo sit*, $B^2$ *aequom sit*. This implies that *-st*, not *sit*, was in the original, which may possibly have had the archaic form of the Neut. in *-os*. The Indicative after *nescio utrum* seems justified by the instances quoted by Becker in Studemund's *Studien* i. pp. 217 sq.

Since *et* and *em* were both expressed by *e* with a horizontal stroke above, the confusion of the two syllables in our MSS. is very frequent. I think it is this confusion which is the only fault in *Amph.* 549, where the change of the *disparet* of the MSS. to *disparem* gives satisfactory sense:

*Átque quanto, nóx, fuisti lóngior hac próxuma,*
*Tánto breuior díes ut fiat fáciam, ut aeque dísparem,*
*Ét dies e nócte accedat.*

Jupiter is announcing his intention of remedying the disturbance in the calendar caused by the extra-long night which he had ordered. He says he will compensate for it by an extra-short day, which will seem a mere adjunct of the long night which preceded it (*dies e nocte*, instead of the usual *nox e die*). *Disparem* I take to be Subj. of *disparo, -are*, to make unequal, like *paro, -are*, to make equal, *Curc.* 506. By *ut aeque disparem* he means that he will make the day as much shorter than the ordinary day as the previous night had been longer than the ordinary night. *Accedat* has not here the sense of 'to be added.' It is a common expression for the coming of day or of any season, e.g. Apul. *Met.* ii. 11 *meridies accesserat.*

The punctuation in mediaeval MSS. has generally no traditional authority. For all that, the punctuation of the 'corrector' of the *Codex Vetus* in *Amph.* 523 is, I believe, right (Jupiter to Alcmena):

*Clánculum abii: á legione óperam hanc subrupuí tibi.*

The pause after *abii* justifies the hiatus and obviates the necessity of supposing a word to have dropped out. The ordinary punctuation marks the pause after *legione.* But *operam hanc subrupui tibi* cannot mean 'I stole this service for you.' It must mean 'I stole this service from you,' as in *Cas.* 892 *Cupio illam operam seni surripere.* Besides the Dative, the Abl. with *ab* may express 'from so and so,' e.g. *Men.* 393 *pallam...quam ab uxore tua surrupuisti* (cf. 394 *pallam...quam uxori meae surrupui*). It is the precedence of *a legione*, 'from the legion,' which alone can enable the Dative *tibi* here to express 'for you' and not 'from you.'

The habit of mediaeval scribes of not erasing or expunging a miswritten word or syllable, but of leaving it uncorrected, is well known. It may have produced the erroneous form of *Merc.* 17 (=4) in the original of our MSS.:

[*per*]*mea per conatus* (*leg.* praeconatus) *sum uos sumque*
(orsusque *Leo*) *inde exilico,*

unless the cause of error was rather a marginal correction of *per* to *prae*, which was pushed from the margin into the beginning of the line in the wrong form *per*.

A line of the *Miles* (v. 54), in which the braggart soldier is boasting of his performances in a battle, was long a puzzle to editors. The minuscule MSS. offered:

*At peditas telu quia erant si uiuerent.*

All kinds of emendations were tried, such as *Satietas belli quia erat* and *Satiatus belli quia eram* by Ritschl, *At peditatus reliquiae erant* by Camerarius, all of them belonging to what we may call the 'heroic' order of emendations, and disdaining an appeal to palaeography. Studemund finally managed to decipher the line in the Ambrosian Palimpsest and found it to be:

*At peditastelli quia erant, siui uiuerent,*

'they were tag-rag and bobtail soldiery, so I let them live.' All that the restoration of the line had required was the application of two of the simplest rules of Latin palaeography, viz. that *u* is often substituted for *li* or *ii* in minuscule script (hence *telu* for *telli*), and that a repeated word or syllable is often reduced by Haplography (hence *si uiuerent* for *siui uiuerent*). Haplography is one of the commonest of scribal errors, and it would not be rash to say that in three out of every ten cases where a word or syllable is repeated in a line of Plautus, one MS. at least will write it singly. It seems to me that this may be the error in *Asin.* 826:

*Potare, illam expilare † iam emone.*

The only change required is *iam iam ne mone*:

A. *Potáre, illam expiláre.* B. *Iam iam, né mone,*

with the same use of *iam iam* as in *Mil.* 1083 *iam iam, sat amabo est.*

Similarly in *Mil.* 919, where the MSS. offer:

*Atsunt eabri architectique ate amea ut imperiti,*

and where the obvious changes of *eabri to fabri* and of *ate*

*amea ut* to *ad eam haud* have already been made by editors, the insertion of a second *adsunt* will restore the metre:

*Adsúnt fabri, architéctique adsunt ád eam haud imperíti,*

the *eam* referring to *carina* in the previous line:

*Nunc haec carina satis probe fundata, bene statutast.*

I take the construction to be *adsunt ad eam* like *Amph.* 504 *imperator non adest ad exercitum*, *Aul.* 439 *ad focum si adesses.*

A consideration of the normal usage of Plautus will force us to depart from the reading of the MSS. and follow Angelius' correction in *Amph.* 240. The MSS. have:

*Animam* (*v.l.* -um) *omittunt prius quam loco demigrent.*

Plautus uses *omitto* in the sense of 'dropping,' 'desisting from' an action, e.g. *omitte* 'drop that!', *omitte me* 'let go!'. The verb required here is *amitto* in its early sense of 'to send away,' 'give up.' Cf. *Asin.* 611 *uitam amittere*, 'to kill oneself.' The change suits the alliterative character of the passage; and the variety of reading in the MSS. suggests that the two neighbouring syllables *-am* had caused difficulty to the scribe of some archetype.

On the other hand we may retain the reading of the MSS. in *Aul.* 197:

*Ubi manum inicit benigne, ibi onerat aliquam zamiam*
(aliqua zamia *edd.*).

For, although *onero* takes the Abl. of the thing in Plautus, it has this Abl. only when accompanied by an Acc. of the person. There is no reason why in this line, where there is no mention of the person, we should not have the construction that we find in other writers, e.g. *vina cadis onerare* Virg., *oneravi vinum, lardum* Petron.

In *Aul.* 570:

A. *Potáre ego hodie, Eúclio, tecúm uolo.*

B. *Non potem ego quidem hercle.* A. *At ego iussero.*

Seyffert declines the obvious correction of *potem* to *potitem*, and prefers to re-write the line: *Non quod potem ego quidem hercle habeo. At*, etc. But the difference between a Frequentative and a Simple Verb is often hardly perceptible in Plautus. *Poto* and *potito* occur in proximity in *Asin.* 771 *Tecum una potet, aeque pocla potitet.* Euclio's remark is to the same effect as his next remark (*v.* 572):

*Nolo hercle, nam mihi bibere decretum est aquam.*

*Oportet*, true to its character as an Auxiliary Verb, usually follows its Infinitive in Plautus, unless there is a specially emphatic word to which, as an enclitic, it is attached, e.g. *Bacch.* 737 *Celerem oportet esse amatoris manum*, or unless *oportet* itself is emphatic, e.g. *Stich.* 112 *Scio ut oportet esse: si sint—ita ut ego aequom censeo.* We need have no hesitation in supposing a transposition in our minuscule MSS. in *Rud.* 736, where the Ambrosian Palimpsest has *esse oportet*, while they offer the unmetrical *oportet esse*:

A. *Númqui minus hasce ésse oportet líberas?* B. *Quid, líberas?*

and we may suppose the same error in their reading of *Rud.* 714:

*Sí tuas esse opórtet, niue eas* oportet esse (*leg.* ésse oportet) *líberas,*

although the testimony of the Ambrosian is here lacking. But we must hesitate to accept the change of *esse oportet* of the MSS. to *oportet esse* of editors in

*Amph.* 316 *Ália forma* †esse oportet *quém tu pugno légeris*

(cf. 318 *Éxossatum os ésse oportet quém tu pugno légeris*).

In *Curc.* 26, where *oportet* is emphatic, we may find a little more reason for the change, but we cannot avoid a feeling of suspicion:

A. *Num tú pudicae cuípiam insidiás locas,*
*Aut quám pudicam* †esse oportet? B. *Némini.*

Although Plautus uses the trisyllabic pronunciation (probably not the spelling) *surpui* for *surrupui*, three times at the end of the line in one particular play, the *Captivi* (vv. 8, 760, 1011), there is no evidence that he used the contracted Participle *surptus*. In *Pers.* 150 and *Poen.* 902 Skutsch has taught us to scan *und'*, *ind'* for *unde*, *inde*. In *Poen.* 1058 few will defend a disyllabic scansion of the Participle. Sonnenschein's note on *Rud.* 1105 should be corrected.

The conditions under which Hiatus was allowed by Plautus have not yet been determined. But some light is being thrown on the pronunciation of his time in this respect by the observation that phrases like *flagitium hominis*, a common term of abuse, are regularly scanned in his lines with Hiatus, *flagítium hóminis*. Virgil's *qui amant*, an Anapaest, in *Ecl.* viii. 108:

*Credimus? An qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?*

probably reflects the current pronunciation of the phrase; for in Plautus the Relative normally stands in Hiatus before *amo* in this and similar phrases, e.g. *Trin.* 241 *Nam quí amat*, *Cist.* 280 *Nam quí amant*, *Cist.* 97 *quém ames*[1] etc. etc. The persistency with which the Relative remains in Hiatus before the subordinate verb *habeo* in Plautus (e.g. *Curc.* 548 *quí habent*, *Mil.* 1245 *quám habes*, etc.) makes one suspect that in *Asin.* 885, where the MSS. offer

*Súbripiam in delíciis pallam qu(am) hábet, atque ad te déferam,*

the Old Latin Asyndeton has been removed by the insertion of *atque*, as has been done in other lines, such as *Capt.* 658:

A. *Íte istinc,* [atque] *ecférte lora.* B. *Núm lignatum míttimur?*

*Bacch* 1115: *Íd, perit cúm tuo:* [atque] *ambo aéque amicás habent* (Cretic).

*Curc.* 280: *Dáte uiam mihi, nóti* [atque] *ignoti, dúm ego hic officiúm meum Fácio.*

[1] Similarly, when the Relative is followed by the enclitic *ego*, *Amph.* 640 *abést quem ego amó* (Bacchiac), *Cist.* 85 *quém ego amarem*, *Curc.* 326 *quám ego amo*.

*Cist.* 205: *Qui omnés homines supero,* [atque] *ántideo cruciábilitatibus ánimi.*
*Aul.* 784: *Répudium rebús paratis,* [atque] *éxornatis núptiis?*
*Curc.* 351: '*Quíd si abeamus,* [ac] *décumbamus?*' *ínquit. Consiliúm placet.*

The normal scansion of *quam habet* will be restored, if we delete *atque* and read: *quám habet, ad te déferam.*

(In *Poen.* 1049 *qu(am) habeo, Rud.* 106 *qu(am) habui,* are conjectural readings, not the readings of the MSS.) In *Trin.* 792 the MSS. offer an overloaded Iambic Senarius:

*Illum quem habuit perdidit, alium post fecit nouom.*

Any emendation must pay regard to Plautus' normal scansion of *quem* before *habeo.* The most likely seems to me the deletion of *alium post* as a gloss:

*Illúm quem habuit pérdidit: fecít nouom.*

Parallels to this insertion of explanatory words are too numerous to give in detail. We may select as specimens, *Pseud.* 534 *non unum* [quidem] *diem* [modo], *Pseud.* 483 A. *Meum amare?* B. *Naì γὰρ* [mea est]. A. *Liberare quam uelit?*

That *eccum* shared the licence of Interjections in respect of Hiatus is suggested by lines like

*Men.* 567 *Atque édepol eccum óptume reuórtitur* (AP).
*Most.* 686 *Euge óptume eccum aédium dominús foras. Simó progreditur íntus* (AP).
*Cas.* 536 *Sed éccum egreditúr senati cólumen praesidiúm popli* (AP)

(cf. *Aul.* 781, *Capt.* 169, *Truc.* 320, *Most.* 560, *Curc.* 278, *Men.* 286, *Pers.* 392). The reading of the MSS. in these lines should not, I think, be altered (cf. *Stich.* 261).

Another moot point is the metrical nature of lines or passages in the Cantica of Plautus. The statement of Marius Victorinus (VI. 78, 20 K.), that Plautus took as his models the choric metres of Aristophanes and the writers of the Old Greek

Comedy, is now denied by Prof. Leo, who, arguing with great show of truth that the Erotic Papyrus-Fragment, recently published by Mr Grenfell, is a monody from the Alexandrian stage, prefers to regard these Alexandrian dramatic monodies as Plautus' models. Since however these in their turn must have been a development of the choric metres of Euripides and Aristophanes, we are justified in looking to the extant choruses of those earlier Dramatists for types which may have become popular on the Alexandrian stage and have passed ultimately to Rome. In the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (vv. 299–301 and elsewhere):

> Κἄστιν γε Λήμνιον τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο πάσῃ μηχανῇ.
> Οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποθ' ὧδ' ὀδὰξ ἔβρυκε τὰς λήμας ἐμοῦ,

I would find a type of the opening lines of the *Persa*:

> *Qui amáns egens ingréssus ést prínceps in Amoris uias*
> *Súperauit aerúmnis is suis aerumnas Hérculi.*

The word *is* has been lost by Haplography after *-is* of *aerumnis* both in the Ambrosian Palimpsest and in the original of our extant MSS. But it is preserved in the quotation of this passage by the Scholiast on Virgil *Ecl.* x. 69.

In the ancient Archetype of our minuscule MSS. the Cantica were, as we have seen, written ἐν εἰσθέσει and ἐν ἐκθέσει, as they appear in the Ambrosian Palimpsest. When there was a hole near the margin of a page in this Archetype more would be lost from a long line than from a short line, and so on. It seems to me that, in their attempts to reconstruct the defective Cantica in the *Casina* and other plays, editors have often ignored the obvious necessity of picturing to themselves how the gaps in the pages would affect the beginning of a line on one side of the leaf and the end of a line on the other side of the leaf. Thus in *Cas.* 864 sqq., the gap (*quae res*) at the end of v. 844 (a line ἐν εἰσθέσει) *mea uxorcula* <*quae res*> must correspond to a large gap at the beginning (not the end) of the presumably longer line, v. 864; the gap (*tace sis*) at the end of v. 846, a line of the same nature as v. 844, must

correspond to another large gap at the beginning of v. 866, so that the passage should apparently be printed:

*Seném, quo senéx nequiór nullus uíuit,*
* * * * *<nisi> íllum quidém*
(?) *Néquiorem esse árbitrare quí praebet illí locum.*
* * * * *<te> núnc praesidém.*

W. M. LINDSAY.

## THE HEBREW WORDS אָוֶן, אוֹן AND אֵיד.

אָוֶן occurs more than 70 times in the O. T.—the exact number cannot be stated, as some of the passages in which the word seems to occur are uncertain—and it may appear strange that any doubt should exist as to the precise meaning of so common an expression. Yet such is the case. The prevailing opinion (expressed by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, and adopted in the last edition of the *Handwörterbuch*, 1895) is that אָוֶן properly signifies "vanity," "deceit," and hence "sin." But of this there is no real evidence, for the etymological speculation that אָוֶן is connected with אַיִן "none" requires first to be proved before we build upon it. In the O. T. itself there is no passage in which אָוֶן *necessarily* signifies "vanity" or "deceit." Once indeed (Ps. xxxvi. 4) we read דִּבְרֵי פִיו אָוֶן וּמִרְמָה, but this is not conclusive. The facts as to its usage are briefly these. So far as I am aware, אָוֶן is a word peculiar to Biblical Hebrew—neither in Arabic nor Aramaic is there anything which can, with any plausibility, be regarded as its etymological equivalent. Even in the O. T. אָוֶן is almost entirely confined to the poetical style. Thus in the Pentateuch it occurs once only—in a prophecy (מָשָׁל) put into the mouth of Balaam (Nu. xxiii. 21). It occurs once in Amos (Am. v. 5), several times in the undoubtedly genuine parts of Isaiah, and occasionally in the later Prophets; but it is found most often in the Psalms, Proverbs and Job. In the historical books properly so called it never appears—if we

except one doubtful passage (1 Sam. xv. 23). Thus we are justified in concluding that at the time when Hebrew literature flourished אָוֶן was seldom, if ever, used in ordinary speech. It is also remarkable that אָוֶן only once has the article (Ps. cxxv. 5) and rarely takes suffixes (אוֹנֶךָ Jer. iv. 14, אוֹנָם Ps. xciv. 23). The plural form אוֹנִים Prov. xi. 7 is very suspicious. As to the *meaning* of אָוֶן, we cannot with certainty say more than that it signifies "harm," "mischief," in the most general sense. In 8 passages it is used in parallelism with עָמָל *πόνος*, namely Nu. xxiii. 21, Is. x. 1, lix. 4, Hab. i. 3, Ps. vii. 15, Job iv. 8, v. 6, xv. 35. But the word is commonest in the well-known phrase פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן, which occurs 20 times, and always means "workers of *harm*." The most difficult cases are those in which אָוֶן appears in connection with *heathen worship*. בֵּית אָוֶן, Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, is generally regarded as a scribe's perversion of the name of בית אל, based upon Am. v. 5 בית אל יהיה לְאָוֶן. In fact whenever אָוֶן is introduced in passages dealing with this subject, there is reason to suspect the text—cf. Hos. x. 8. Yet these are the passages on which Hebraists have based the theory that אָוֶן means "deceit."

We now come to the question, which has often been discussed, whether אָוֶן has any real connection with אוֹן (Hos. xii. 9) or אוֹנִים (Is. xl. 26, 28, perhaps Ps. lxxviii. 51) "strength," cf. רֵאשִׁית אוֹנִי Gen. xlix. 3—רֵאשִׁית אֹנוֹ Deut. xxi. 17—and רֵאשִׁית לְכָל־אוֹנָם Ps. cv. 36. Whether בֶּן־אוֹנִי in Gen. xxxv. 18 has anything to do with this, I do not venture to decide, on account of the notorious difficulty of drawing etymological conclusions from proper names. But at all events the *meaning* of אוֹן seems quite certain. Those who explain אָוֶן as "deceit" naturally have great difficulty in connecting it with אוֹן "strength." Thus Hoffmann (*Z. f. d.*

*altt. Wissensch.* iii, 104) compares Engl. *craft* and Germ. *Kraft.* But the analogy is misleading, since "craft" does not properly mean "deceit," but rather "ability," "skill," as in "craftsman" and "handicraft." In order to maintain Hoffmann's theory we should have to assume that in prehistoric times אָוֹן signified "skill" and afterwards lost that meaning entirely. That this is a very precarious hypothesis hardly requires to be said. If אוֹן and אָוֹן are really the same word—which is grammatically quite possible—it seems natural to suppose that the meaning was first "strength," then in particular "power to harm," finally "harm" itself. For this change of signification there is an exact parallel in the Arabic بَأْسٌ, which properly means "strength," as in the verse of the Hudhalite poet Abū Ṣakhr, describing a warrior, فكانَ أَشَدَّهُمْ قَلْبًا وبَأْسًا (Ḥamāsa 161 antep.). Thence is derived the meaning "harm," as in the common expression لا بَأْسَ. In Hebrew and Aramaic the root בּאשׁ invariably has the sense of being harmful or offensive.

There is another obscure Hebrew word which admits of a similar explanation, namely אֵיד commonly rendered "calamity." אֵיד, like אָוֹן, is used almost exclusively in poetry. Since there is no known Hebrew root with which we can connect it, it may be suggested that אֵיד is akin to the Arabic آدَ imperf. يَئِيدُ "to be strong," whence are derived أَيِّدٌ "strong" and مُؤْيِدٌ (or مُؤَيِّدٌ) "calamity"—see the *Lisān-al-'Arab* s.v. and Arnold's edition of the *Mu'allaḳāt* p. 64 (Ṭarafa, verse 90), p. 175 (al-Ḥārith, verse 26).

A. A. BEVAN.

v. 3 אני ראיתי אויל משריש
וָאֶקּוֹב נוהו פתאם׃

That it is impossible to extract an appropriate sense from וָאֶקּוֹב in this verse has been acknowledged by most recent interpreters. Some have proposed to substitute וְרָקַב or וַיִּרָקַב "it mouldered away," but the idea of mouldering away *suddenly* is not particularly felicitous. Budde, in his Commentary on Job (1896), suggests וַיִּפָּקֵד "was found empty," according to 1 Sam. xx. 18, 25, 27; this emendation at first appears very plausible, but it presents one serious difficulty, namely that the same chapter contains the phrase וּפָקַדְתָּ נָוֶךָ (verse 24), where the meaning "to find empty" is obviously unsuitable. That so unusual a combination of words should be employed by the same writer first in one sense and almost immediately afterwards in another would be a strange coincidence. Accordingly I venture to suggest וַיִּבֹּק "was emptied out." It is to be noted that the verb בקק is used, in several passages, of the *devastation* of countries, dwellings, and the like (Is. xxiv. 1, 3, Jer. li. 2, Nah. ii. 3).

v. 5 אֲשֶׁר קְצִירוֹ רָעֵב יֹאכֵל
וְאֶל־מִצִּנִּים יִקָּחֵהוּ
וְשֹׁאֵף צַמִּים חֵילָם׃

As every clause in this verse contains some difficulty, we have first to consider what general sense is demanded by the preceding passage. Verse 4 describes the ruin of the wicked man's posterity, and verse 5 seems to be a continuation of this theme. The suffix in חֵילָם implies that the poet is referring to the "sons," rather than to the wicked man himself. There is therefore good reason for adopting the view of those commentators who substitute אֲשֶׁר קָצְרוּ "that which they have reaped" (LXX *ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι συνήγαγον*) for the traditional אֲשֶׁר קְצִירוֹ. But no one, so far as I have observed, appears to have felt the difficulty of the reading רָעֵב. Why should it be a special aggravation of a man's misfortune that the wealth which he has lost is devoured by "the hungry"? To explain "the hungry" as meaning "any one who chooses" is scarcely permissible; in that case כָּל רָעֵב, or some such phrase, would be required. It seems therefore much more probable that we should read רָעָב "famine"—cf. רָעָב וְדֶבֶר יֹאכְלֵנוּ Ezek. vii. 15. The meaning is not that the hoards in question are devoured by *anybody*, but that they are rapidly *exhausted*, swallowed up by the famine which they were intended to avert. We now come to the second and third clauses of the verse, where the main problem consists in determining the sense of צְנִים and צַמִּים. Each of these words occurs in one other passage, namely Prov. xxii. 5 (צִנִּים פַּחִים בְּדֶרֶךְ עִקֵּשׁ) and Job xviii. 9 (יֹאחֵז בְּעָקֵב פַּח יַחֲזֵק עָלָיו צַמִּים). The fact that *both* words are used in combination with פַּח "snare," added to the fact that in Job v. 5 they appear in consecutive clauses of the same verse, constitutes a strong argument in favour of regarding these terms as synonymous, or nearly synonymous, with פַּח. This view is further confirmed by the use of צִנּוֹת in Amos iv. 2 as the name of some implement for catching fish or other animals; whether it refers to "hooks," as is commonly supposed, or to a different contrivance, does not seem clear. Hence in Job v. 5 both צְנִים and צַמִּים may be

said to bear the mark of genuineness; to eliminate either word from the text, for instance by changing צַמִּים into צְמֵאִים or צְמֵאִים, is extremely hazardous. But the construction וְאֶל־מִצִּנִּים is one to which we may reasonably object. The ordinary rendering "even from the thorns" is, quite apart from all other considerations, indefensible on grounds of syntax, and derives no support from such phrases as אֶל־מִחוּץ (Lev. iv. 12, etc.), since this last does not mean "even from outside" but "to the region outside," מִחוּץ being regarded as a single conception. Perhaps the simplest emendation would be to read וְאַתָּם צִנִּים יִקָּחֻהוּ "and as for their wealth, snares lay hold of it," which exactly agrees with the following words—וְשָׁאַף צַמִּים חֵילָם "and the trap gapes for their substance." For this use of אוֹן and חַיִל as synonyms, compare Job xx. 10, 15.

A. A. BEVAN.

## THE ARTICLES OF DRESS IN DAN. III. 21.

THE enumeration of the garments worn by the three Jewish officers in the fiery furnace (Dan. iii. 21) merits attention if only for the interest attached to the "hats" of the Authorised Version, from which rendering the celebrated Quaker doctrine forbidding the removal of the hat even in the presence of royalty was deduced by George Fox. This rendering of the Aramaic כַּרְבְּלָא is rejected by the Revised Version in favour of "mantles". Equally striking are the various renderings of the remaining terms סַרְבָּל and פטיש (Keri פַּטְשׁ), for the former of which the A.V. has "coats" (marg. "mantles"), and R.V. "hosen", while for the latter we find such remarkable variations as "hosen" (A.V.), "tunics" (R.V.), and "turbans" (R.V. marg.). In view of the evident uncertainty of these three Aramaic terms a fresh examination of the evidence may not be wholly superfluous.

It will be useful in the first place to indicate some of the articles of apparel to which reference is likely to be made in the Aramaic text of Dan. iii. 21. For the dress of the Babylonians Herodotus (i. 195) mentions: *a.* *κιθὼν ποδηνεκὴς λίνεος*, a long linen garment reaching to the feet, *b.* *κιθὼν εἰρίνεος*, a woollen garment, *c.* *χλανίδιον λευκόν*, a short white cloak worn outside. The shoes, he observes, resembled those of the Boeotians. Herodotus states elsewhere (i. 135) that the Persians took their garments from the Medes, and, if we bear in mind the probable date of the book of Daniel (168—167 B.C.), we shall not think it unreasonable to look for Persian influence in dress, and it will be necessary to include the following terms (the list does not pretend to be complete): *d.* *κάνδυς*, a Median

garment with sleeves—*κατὰ τοὺς ὤμους ἐναπτόμενος* (Pollux, vii. 58); *e. σάραπις, Μήδων τὸ φόρημα, πορφυροῦς μεσόλευκος χιτών* (ib. 61); *f. κάπυρις, περσικὸς χιτὼν χειριδωτός, ἢ που δὲ καὶ καυνάκης Περσῶν* (ib. 58 f.); *g. καυνάκης*, a thick cloak of coarse material (cf. *b* above), whence comes גונך Targ. Judges iv. 18 (Heb. שְׂמִיכָה), 2 Kings viii. 15 (Heb. מַכְבֵּר), cf. Varro's *gaunacum*; *h. ἀναξυρίδες*, tight-fitting trousers (as opposed to *θύλακοι*) reaching to the feet, and *i. κίδαρις κυρβασία, μίτρα, πῖλος, τιάρα*, various head-dresses.

Relying upon what may be called the *archaeological* evidence some have identified the Aramaic סרבל, פטש, and כרבלא with *a*, *b*, and *c* respectively[1]. This procedure, however plausible it may be, is obviously arbitrary unless supported by linguistic evidence, to a consideration of which we now turn.

## סרבל

(1) In Mishnic Hebrew and the Targums סַרְבָּל (סַרְבְּלָא, סַרְבַּלָּא) denotes a tunic or mantle hanging from the neck[2]. It is no doubt the same as *sirbāl*, in Arabic, a shirt, coat-of-mail (also any kind of garment, see Lane, *s. v.*), in Pers. a shirt. In Dan. iii. 21 סרבל is accordingly explained by Aben-Ezra and several Rabbinical authorities to mean an upper garment or tunic (cf. A.V. quoted above)[3]. (2) A second interpretation "trousers or breeches" has been urged in modern times by Hitzig, Ewald, Von Lengerke, and others (cf. R.V.), and is supported by the Syr. ܣܪܒܠܐ, Ar. سَرَاوِيل, سِرْوَال trousers, under-breeches, and mod. Pers. *shalwār*, "under-breeches reaching to the feet, as distinguished from the *tumbān* or outer-breeches" (Johnson).

[1] Keil and others. Behrmann (*Handkommentar*, 1894) suggests that פטש and כרבלא correspond to *g* and *d* respectively.

[2] Hence סרבל as a denom. "to cover".

[3] See generally Bynaeus *de calceis Hebraeorum* (1695), pp. 251 ff., who devotes a chapter to the meanings of the articles of dress in Dan. iii. 21. For the various meanings of the Latin equivalent *sarabara* (*-la*, *-lla*) see the glossaries of Middle and Low Latin *s. v.*

Two other meanings are possible but, perhaps, hardly probable. (3) "hat" or "cap", cf. Isidor. *Etymolog. Lib.* xxiii. (ed. Migne), "sarabarae quaedam tegmina nuncupantur qualia videmus in capite magorum picta". Some such meaning as this seems to underlie the Gr. Ven. *ἄμπυκες*. (4) "a covering for the feet, shoes", cf. the rendering of the Syr. Hex. ܣܪܒܠ, and see Ges. *Thes.* 970 n. 1 (*s.* סרבל), and Brüll, *Trachten d. Juden*, p. 88 f. Here may be mentioned a Rabbinical interpretation which explains סרבל by מוקסי "breeches" (but according to Mussafia a kind of cap), which is probably connected with מוקא, ܡܘܣܦܐ "shoe, boot" (halbstiefel, Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb. s. v.v.*). מוקסי perhaps explains the *μωκία* of the Scholion (*τινὲς δὲ σαράβαρα εἰρήκασι τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενα μωκία, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀναξυρίδες προσαγορευόμενα*)—unless, with Drusius, we correct to *βρακία*.

The four meanings above mentioned may be reduced to two. The terms for "shoes", "hosen" and "breeches" readily pass from one to the other (cf. Hesychius *s. ἀναξυρίδες*, and see Field, *Hex. ad loc.*), and the ease with which the "mantle" and "head-dress" interchange is intelligible from the practice of forming a cap by drawing the former over the head (so e.g. in Persia, see Andreas ap. Marti, *Gramm. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 74*), and finds a parallel in the history of the English "cape" and "cap".

It is highly probable that these four meanings represent two words originally distinct. From the Syr. ܣܪܒܠ it may be inferred that for 2 (and 4) we should expect in Biblical Aramaic שַׂרְבָּל with initial *š*, whereas for 1 (and 3) the form with initial ס (or שׂ) is perfectly natural. This objection to the rendering "breeches" is removed by Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 206) and Fränkel (*Aramäische Fremdwörter*, p. 47 f.) who would derive סרבל from the Gr. *σαράβαλλα* (*σαράβαρα*). But this view is not conclusive (Behrmann), and has against it the fact that סרבל "breeches" is not supported by the Targums or Mishnic Hebrew, whereas סרבל "mantle" is

well-known in both. Moreover the occurrence of סרבל by itself in Dan. iii. 27 justifies the assumption that an outer garment is referred to rather than one which, being less exposed, would be less likely to ignite. The verse in question which describes the powerlessness of the fire over the Three certainly gains by the adoption of the A.V. marg.—their hair was not singed, their mantles (long flowing robes and therefore extremely liable to catch the flames) were unchanged, nor was there even a smell of fire on them—the climax is marked. The following outline may be taken to represent the history of the two words. (1) Pers. *sar* "head", Armen. *salavart* "cap", perhaps Syr. ܣܠܒܘܪܬܐ Lag. (*Ges. Abh.*, p. 72). Also Pers. *sirbāl* "mantle", and סרבל in Bibl.-Aram., Targ., and Mish.-Heb. (cf. Andreas ap. Marti *op. cit.*). (2) Pers. *shāl* "thigh[1]", whence mod. Pers. *shalvār* "feminalia", Syr. ܫܘܠܐ, and Gr. *σαράβαρα* (*σαράβαλλα*) from which comes Ar. سروال. Possibly שַׂרְוָלִים (ärmel-halter) represents its form in Mish.-Heb., see Levy, *Neu-heb. Wörterb.*

## פטש

With פטש we may compare the Pesh. ܦܛܫܐ, which the lexicographers explain as (1) a Persian tunic, (2) breeches, also, a kind of leggings. Similarly פטש is interpreted by Aben-Ezra as חלוקין (an under-robe reaching to the heels, see especially Talm. *Baba Bathra*, 57 b), or מכנסים (cf. Exod. xxviii. 42 &c.). The Hebrew version supports 1 by rendering כתנת, and 2 is attested by Jelamd. on Gen. iii. 23, who explains פ' by ברקין i.e. *braccae*. In Mishnic Hebrew פטש occurs in only one passage independent of Dan. iii. 21, and apparently denotes something worn upon the feet, but the text is not certain, see Levy *s. v.* פשוש, and cf. Brüll, *op. cit.* p. 84 n. 2. The meaning "shoe", nevertheless, finds support in Dufresne (ed. Favre), *Petasum*: *Calciamentum Mercurii ad volandum.* Finally, פטש has been identified with *πέτασος* "broad-brimmed hat", which, however, is philologically difficult on account of the

[1] For another derivation see Lagarde, *Arica*, p. 26.

sibilants[1]. It would have been strange to find the ς in *πέτασος* and *σαράβαλλα* transliterated in the one case by שׁ (!) and in the other (rightly) by ס.

## כרבלא

(1) כרבלא in Mish.-Heb. means helmet, head-dress, and hence (no doubt from its shape) "cock's comb". This meaning in Dan. iii. 21 is attested by the Heb. Vers. מצנפת (cf. Ex. xxviii. 4 &c.), and Gr. Ven. *κυρβασία*. It is worth noticing that *κυρβασία* itself in Arist. *Av.* 487 is compared to a cock's comb. (2) The rendering "mantle", though very generally accepted, is based upon the phrase מכרבל בבמעיל בוץ 1 Chron. xv. 27, and it may be justly doubted whether the Massoretic Text in this passage is sound[2]. Both interpretations find a place in Aruch: הקיסרין (i.e. הקיסדין *cassis*), and הטליות.

כרבלא is no doubt the Ass. *kar-bal-la-a-tû* in the inscription of Darius I. at Naḳš-i-Rustäm (l. 15), translated "helmet" (Oppert, Andreas, see also Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.*, p. 436[a]), or "kriegs(?)-mantel" (Zehnpfund, *Beitr. z. Ass.*, i. 535). The latter perhaps relies too much upon the doubtful מכרבל of 1 Chron. xv. 27 and the precarious view that כרבלא denotes

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 12 might be adduced to prove the antiquity of its use among the Jews, but is the text correct? For *ὑπὸ πέτασον* Vg. reads *in lupanaribus*, the Syr. ܒܒܝܬ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 31 Pesh.).

[2] מכרבל is actually explained by many as a denominative of כרבלא in the sense of "mantle"! If we compare the parallel passage 2 Sam. vi. 14, and omit the Chronicler's characteristic references to the Levites, the texts stand as follows:

| 1 Chron. | 2 Sam. |
|---|---|
| ודויד מכרבל במעיל בוץ<br>ועל־דויר אפוד בד: | ודוד מכרכר בכל־עז (לפני יהוה)<br>ודוד חגור אפוד בד: |

could be taken to mean "enclosed in", "surrounded", and so "clad" (cf. LXX *περιεζωσμένος*, and perhaps Ass. *karru* "over-garment", Delitzsch, *Ass. Handwörterb.*). Or is the Mish.-Heb. כרבלין "dancers" (*χοραῦλαι*) helpful?

It is difficult not to believe that one or other of the texts is faulty. Lack of space forbids a full discussion. It may suffice to remark that מכרבל may be a conjectural reading of an illegible MS. (see also Thenius, Klostermann). If 1 Chron. originally read מכרכר it

"mantle". In adopting the former for *kar-bal-la-a-tû* (and כרבלא) we have in the corresponding old Pers. χaudha the Gr. *κίδαρις*[1] (cf. Syr. ܟܘܕܪܐ) a head-dress not unlike the *κυρβασία*. It may have resembled the conical cap depicted upon the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments (see e.g. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chald. &c.*, i. fig. 14).

With these results סרבל "mantle", פטש "tunic" or "breeches", and כרבל "helmet, head-dress", one is at first tempted to find all three referred to in Pollux vii. 58: Περσῶν ἴδια κάνδυς (סרבל), καὶ ἀνυξυρίς (פטש), καὶ τιάρα (כרבלא), ἣν καὶ κυρβασίαν καὶ κίδαριν καὶ πῖλον καλοῦσι. A consideration of the versions however suggests a different view.

If we glance at the versions[2] we see that the Peshitta reading ܣܪܒܠܐ ܘܣܦܣܝܢ should doubtless be transposed: ܣܦܣܝܢ "garments" correctly renders לבוש, and ܣܪܒܠܐ "helmets" exactly agrees with the preferred rendering of כרבלא. The LXX (ed. Swete) reads: ἔχοντες τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τιάρας αὐτῶν (ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν) σὺν τῷ ἱματισμῷ αὐτῶν. The words in brackets are merely explanatory, and since *ἱματ.* represents לבוש we may conclude that the translator found only *two* of the three terms before him. Now it is very remarkable that פטש is consistently rendered "cap" by Theod., LXX, Vg. and the Ar. version (*τιάρα*, *tiara*, ܛܝܪ), a rendering which has been shown to be improbable, but which would be entirely suitable for כרבלא. The latter, again, is correctly recognised by the Pesh. (ܣܪܒܠܐ), and Gr. Ven. (*κυρβασία*), while the remaining versions present readings which cannot be reconciled with כרבלא but agree in a marked manner with the meanings of סרבל. Thus Theod. renders the

[1] For a different derivation of *κίδαρις* see Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 207. Oppert (*Records of the Past*, ix. 76 [1st series]) derives *κυρβασία* from *karbasti* = Ass. *karbalti* (for interchange of *s* and *l* cf. Delitzsch, *Ass. Gram.* § 51, 3).

[2] It may be mentioned (although it has little bearing upon the present subject) that Theodotion omits לבושיהון, and perhaps rightly (so Bludau, *d. Alex. Uebersetz.* p. 101).

former by περικνημῖδες with which we may compare ἀναξυρίδες[1], σαράβαρα, and *braccae*, the renderings of סרבל presented by Sym., Theod., and Vulg. respectively; and to *calceamenta*[2], خفاف, by which the Vulg. represents כרבלא, we have a parallel in the LXX ὑποδήματα.

The suggestion that these readings have arisen from a confusion of סרבל and כרבלא (in *v.* 27 two of Kennicott's MSS. actually read כרבליהון for סרבליהון) does not sufficiently account for the peculiarities. It may be conjectured, as a possible solution, that פטש is *unrecognised* by these versions, and that it is a later insertion, or possibly indeed a gloss on סרבל. τιάρα &c. will then refer to כרבלא, and the difficult renderings of Theod., Vulg., and the Ar., which apparently refer to כרבלא will be misplaced glosses or doublets referring to סרבל.

Complicated as this explanation may at first appear a brief *résumé* of the data of each version will be found to render it less improbable. The Aramaic text of Dan. iii. 21, we assume, originally read only *two* terms סרבל and כרבלא, the latter of which is correctly rendered τιάρα (LXX, Theod.), *tiara* (Vulg.), ܛܝܪܐ (Pesh.), and تاج (Ar.). For סרבל the LXX renders ὑποδήματα (cf. above סרבל 4), but in *v.* 94 (27) gives σαράβαρα (so also Theod.). Theod. in *v.* 21 presents both σαράβαρα and περικνημῖδες, for the latter of which cf. סרבל 2. The former may be a doublet, but is more probably a variant for σαράβαλ(λ)α a mere transliteration, cf. σαράβαλα, Complut. *v.* 27, and Jerome: "pro *braccis*, quas Symmachus ἀναξυρίδας interpretatus est, Aq. et Theod. *saraballa* dixerunt, et non, ut corrupte legitur, *sarabara*". Hence we infer that both LXX and Theod. originally transliterated סרבל, and Jerome's statement so far from being unfounded is found to be correct. The Vulg. similarly transliterated סרבל as appears

[1] For the close relation between περικνημῖδες and ἀναξυρίδες cf. Theodoret: περικνημῖδας δὲ τὰς καλουμένας ἀναξυρίδας λέγει κ.τ.λ.

[2] Whence the renderings "shoon" and "shoes" of Wycliffe and Coverdale.

from the fact that *sarabala*[1] is still preserved in *v.* 94 (27), whereas in *v.* 21 it has been corrected to *calceamenta* (cf. LXX) to which has been added the variant *braccae* (cf. Theod.). Both glosses are followed by the Ar. version سروال and خفّ. The Pesh. ܣܪܒܠܐ (for which ܣܪܒܠ in Egerton 704 [Brit. Mus.] may be a slip) is of interest as showing that at the time this version was made פטש had already found its way into the Massoretic text (or is it a later insertion ?); from its rarity it seems hardly likely that it would have been employed by a Syrian translator to express any of the above-mentioned readings of the Greek versions.[2]

Our translation of Dan. iii. 21 will accordingly run as follows:—"Then these three were bound in their mantles, and caps, and (other) garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace". To the arguments which have been brought forward to justify the omission of ופטשיהון we have yet to add that some of the references in the early Latin Fathers to Dan. iii. 21, 27 mention only two garments. Thus Jerome Ep. i., "circa quorum saraballa sanctamque caesariem innoxium lusit incendium"; Tertullian, *de Res. Carn.* lviii. (ed. Migne), "Babylonii ignes trium fratrum nec tiaras nec sarabara (al. -as) laeserunt"; and, perhaps the most important of all, ib. *de Orat.* xv., "tres sanctos in fornace Babylonii regis orantes cum sarabaris et tyaris suis exaudivit".

[1] Cf. *saraballa* Jerome, Epist. i., and *saraballae*, August. *de Magistro*, xxxiii. (ed. Migne). On the other hand cf. Isidor. *Etymolog. Lib.* xxiii. "et *sarabara* eorum non sunt immutata".

[2] Besides Dan. iii. 21 Brocklemann cites only Elias of Nisibis, 37, 47 (Lagarde, *Praetermissorum Libri Duo*, 1879), which I have been unable to verify. The variant ܣܪܒܠ is supported by the reading ܣܪܒܠܬܐ (Hoffmann, *Opusc. Nest.*, p. 116, l. 11) which is glossed by ܟܘܦܝܐ. The fourth meaning of סרבל is evidently referred to. It may be added that in the same passage ܣܪܒܠܬܐ is glossed by ܩܠܢܣܘܬܐ "caps".

STANLEY A. COOK.

## *OPERATVS* AND *OPERARI.*

By far the most satisfactory account of the usage of these words is that given in T. H. Key's posthumous Latin Dictionary; but even it begins with a statement which exactly inverts the facts:

"**ŏpĕror,** āri, vb. r. [opera a labourer], lit. make oneself a labourer (for a time), engage oneself for work; *hence*[1] operatus sum I am engaged in work, am busy, esp. of religious duties with dat. of object, or of deity, pay one's vows to, offer sacrifice (to), cf. ῥεζω."[2]

An examination of even a considerable number of passages where the words in question occur will show, (1) what Key saw but the rest of Latin lexicographers have missed, that *operatus* (*esse*) is the only "part of the verb" which is found in the best writers; (2) what Key himself did not realize fully if at all, that it *never* has the sense of a *perfect*; (3) that *operatus* must not be explained from *operari*, whereas *operari* may be explained from *operatus*.

The following will, I think, be found a fuller collection of its occurrences than has yet been made, though it has been beyond my power to make it complete, nor was this completeness necessary for my object.

[1] My italics.

[2] It should perhaps be pointed out that it is *facio* which is the equivalent of ῥέζω.

## Verse Writers.

### Republican and Augustan.

Pomponius ap. Non. 523 (134 in Ribbeck, *Fragm. Com. Poet.*, who wrongly alters to *operatur* with Quicherat) 'ibi *nunc operatus est*' (sacr.).

Afranius ib. (141 Ribbeck) 'proficiscor: res tempus locus simul hortabatur otium, | ut *operatum* illum degerem sanctum diem Dianae' (the mss vary between *operatum, operatam, operam*: probably the old correction *operata* should be read. All the mss have 'Dianae' after 'illum').

Lucilius l. xxx ib. (= Baehr. F. P. R. 764) 'operat<a>' (see below).

Lucretius iv 985 'et quibus *in* rebus consuerint *esse operati*.'

Virgil *Georg.* i 339 'sacra refer Cereri, laetis *operatus* in herbis' (sacr.), *Aen.* iii 136 sqq. 'iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes, | conubi*is* arui*s*que nou*is operata* iuuentus, | iura domosque dabam.'

Horace *carm.* iii 14 6 'iust*is operata* sacr*is*' (sacr.; see below). *ep.* i 2 27 sqq. 'nos numerus et fruges consumere nati, | sponsi Penelopes nebulones Alcinoique | *in* cute curanda plus aequo *operata* iuuentus.'

Tibullus ii 1 7 sqq. 'soluite uincla iugis: nunc ad praesepia debent | plena coronato stare boues capite. omnia *sint operata* deo' (sacr.). 1 65 'atque aliqua adsidue text*is operata* Mineruam | cantat' (the mss have *textrix*; but this appears to be a gloss upon the unfamiliar phrase *textis operata*). 3 35 sqq. 'ferrea non Venerem sed praedam saecula laudant; | praeda tamen mult*is est operata* mal*is*. | praeda feras acies cinxit discordibus armis; | hinc cruor, hinc caedes mors propiorque uenit.' 5 95 'tunc *operata* deo pubes discumbet in herba' (sacr.).

Propertius ii 28 45 'ante tuosque pedes illa ipsa *operata* (mss *operta*) sedebit' (sacr.). 33 2 'Cynthia iam noctes *est operata* decem' (sacr.; see below).

Ovid *Heroides* 9 35 'ipsa domo uidua uot*is operata* pudic*is* | torqueor.' *Amores* ii 7 23 'adde quod ornand*is* illa *est operata* capill*is*.' 13 17 'saepe tibi sedit certis *operata* diebus' (sacr.;

confirming *operata* in Prop. l.c.). *Ars am.* III 411 '*operata*que doct*is* | cura uigil Mus*is* nomen inertis habet.' *ib.* 635 'cum sedeat Phariae sistr*is* *operata* iuuencae' (sacr.). *Met.* VII 746 'montibus errabat studi*is* *operata* Dianae.' VIII 864 sq. 'in nullam lumina partem | gurgite ab hoc flexi studioque *operatus* inhaesi.' *Fasti* III 261 'nympha mone, Nemori stagnoque *operata* Dianae.' VI 249 'Vesta faue, *tibi* nunc *operata* resoluimus ora' (sacr.).

GRATTIUS 42 sq. 'uix *operata* suo sacra ad Bubastia lino | uelatur sonipes aestiui turba Canopi' (sacr.).

*Plautus* exx.? *Terence* exx.? *Catullus* exx.? *Manilius* exx.?

### POST-AUGUSTAN.

AETNA 383 'magn*is* *operata* rapin*is* | flamma micat.'

SILIUS II 673 sq. 'Alecto solium ante dei sedemque tremendam | Tartare*o* *est operata* Ioui poenasque ministrat.'

COLUMELLA X 359 sq. 'iust*is* tum demum *operata* iuuentae | legi*bus*.'

*Phaedrus* exx.? *Persius* exx.? *Lucan* exx.? *Valerius Flaccus* exx.? *Martial* exx.? [*Statius* any exx.?]

### PROSE WRITERS.

LIVY I 31 8 'ipsum regem tradunt *operatum* *iis* sacr*is* se abdidisse' (sacr.; see below). IV 60 2 'cum commoditas iuuaret, rem familiarem saltem acquiescere eo tempore quo corpus addictum atque *operatum* rei public*ae* est.' X 39 2 'dum hostes *operati* superstition*ibus* concilia secreta agunt' (sacr.). XXI 62 6 'quod autem lapidibus pluuisset in Piceno nouemdiale sacrum edictum et subinde ali*is* procurand*is* (sc. prodigiis) prope tota ciuitas *operata fuit*' (sacr.).

PLINY *N. H.* XXVI § 11 'sedere namque in scholis auditioni *operatos* gratius erat quam' etc. XXXIII § 70 'siduntque rimae subito et opprimunt *operatos*.'

COLUMELLA XII 4 3 'abstinentissimo rebus uenereis qui*bus* si *fuerit operatus*' etc.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS VI 6 inter. 1 'amplissimi et integerrimi uiri sanctitatem rei publicae us*ibus* et sacr*is* *operatam*' (sacr.).

VIII 7 ext. 4 'quo magis uacuo animo studiis litterarum *esset operatus.*'

MELA III 5 'sacris *operati* maxime Apollinis' (sacr.).

QUINTUS CURTIUS VIII 10 17 'per decem dies Libero patri *operatum* habuit exercitum' (sacr.).

SENECA *de breuit. uit.* 12 4 'quid illi qui *in* componendis audiendis dicendis canticis *operati sunt.*' *de ben.*[1] VII 14 6 'omnibus aliis renuntiauit officiis *huic* uni imminens atque *operatus.*' *epist.*[1] 117 4 'sic fit ut hoc totum studium derideatur tamquam *operatum* superuacuis.'

QUINTILIAN X 3 13 'is cum Secundum, scholae adhuc *operatum,* tristem forte uidisset.'

TACITUS *ab excessu* II 14 'uidit se *operatum* et sanguine sacri respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam manibus auiae Augustae accepisse' (sacr.). III 43 'Augustodunum...Sacrouir occupauerat et nobilissimam Galliarum subolem liberalibus studiis ibi *operatam.*' *hist.* V 20 'egressum militem et caedendis materiis *operatum* turbauere.'

*Cato* exx.? *Varro* exx.? *Caesar* exx.? *Cicero* no exx. in orations or philosophical works. *Sallust* exx.? *Velleius* exx.? *Justin* exx.?[2]

These quotations show quite plainly the special application of *operatus* to religious and sacrificial activity. This *nuance* may be traced outside the places where ritual is specifically referred to and which I have marked by adding '(sacr.)' to the quotation; it can be traced in Ov. *Her.* 9 35, *Ars am.* III 411 *Met.* VII 746, *Fasti* III 261. Attentive reading suggests some further remarks. In the first place it may be observed that the cases where *operatus* might be mistaken for a verb, viz. those where some part of *esse* is appended, are comparatively rare. In most cases it is used attributively or in apposition. Again, when it is not used absolutely, the prevailing construction is with the dative, though *in* with the abl. is found in Lucretius, Horace, Ovid, Seneca. *deditus* shows the same variety of construction.

[1] These two references I owe to Mr J. D. Duff.

[2] When in the above collection this expression is used, it is believed that the writer does not employ the word. The special lexicons and indices have of course been used where they exist.

So far again is it from involving any past signification that in certain passages it becomes capable of a future one. Horace *carm.* III 14 5 sq. 'unico gaudens mulier marito | prodeat iustis operata sacris' (*or* diuis; either word would be correct), 'let her come out and sacrifice.' Livy I 31 8 'ipsum regem tradunt uoluentem commentarios Numae cum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Ioui Elicio facta inuenisset, operatum iis sacris se abdidisse,' 'shut himself up and devoted himself to these rites.' This will at once confute Lachmann's reading *operatum* (the supine) for *operat*, the tradition of the MSS, (which was formerly retained) in Lucilius l.c. and establish the connexion of the two fragments, Non. 522 19 and Non. 523 9, thus arranged in Baehrens' *fragmenta poet. Rom.*

763 {aut cum iter est aliquo et causam commenta uiai
{it apud aurificem ad matrem cognatam ad amicam,
764 aut operata aliquo in celebri cum aequalibu' fano.

In Prop. II 33 1, 2 'tristia iam redeunt iterum sollemnia nobis: | Cynthia iam noctes est operata decem' the rooted misunderstanding of our word has obscured the true interpretation of the passage. *iam* goes with the verb (*est*), though the most recent commentary denies it, and the words mean 'iam noctes decem sacra facit.' *iam redeunt* means of course '*have come* round again.' In none of the passages cited is it necessary to give *operatus* a past or perfect sense. It is a significant circumstance (pointed out by Key) that, when this is required the *perfect* or *imperfect* of *sum*, not the present, is used, as in the passages cited from Columella and Valerius Maximus. In several passages moreover it is found corresponding to a present[1].

The *verb operari* does not seem to occur before the elder Pliny: *N. H.* XI §§ 19, 21 'operantur' § 25 'operantium' all of bees, § 109 'operantur' of ants, XXI § 80 'operantis' (*codd.* 'sperantis') again of bees. In all these places the sense of the word is quite different from that of *operatus*: it is that of 'working,' 'labouring.' It has no religious or sacrificial colour. So in

[1] The prevalence of the form *operata* in epic and elegiac verse is due to the greater metrical convenience of the vowel ending.

XVIII 40 where Pliny is quoting, though hardly in the exact words, certain old *oracula*, 'inde illa reliqua oracula: nequam agricolam esse quisquis emeret quod praestare ei fundus posset, malum patrem familias quisquis interdiu faceret quod noctu posset, nisi in tempestate caeli, peiorem qui profestis diebus ageret quod feriatis deberet, pessimum qui sereno die sub tecto potius *operaretur* quam in agro.' Tacitus *ab exc.* I 64 'operantium' opposed to 'bellantium.' Suet. *Claud.* 20 'xxx hominum milibus sine intermissione operantibus.' If we could trust the verbal accuracy of Pliny's quotation, we should be justified in asserting that side by side with *operatus* with its special uses there existed a verb *operari* which was applied to working in the field or elsewhere; but this is uncertain. Palladius (I 6 16) has the verb; but the early writers on agriculture have apparently neither it nor *operatus*. Cato R. R. 140 (141) has 'opus facere' of working.

I do not propose to examine the later uses of *operari* nor the developement of an active *operare*. But certain passages merit a word of comment. And first Juvenal XII 91 sq. 'longos erexit ianua ramos | et matutinis *operatur* festa lucernis.' This is the earliest example I know where *operatur* is misused for *operata est*. The feeling for the proper sense of the word is as extinct as in the time of Servius, who quotes this passage on *Aen.* III 136 'conubiis aruisque nouis operata iuventus' and says '*perfecit* sacrificia propter conubia et nouas sedes.'

Other places which present confusions of the classical usage are Ulpian Dig. 48. 5 15 § 1 'dum rei publicae operatur' [contrast Livy IV 60 2 (supra)], Apuleius *Met.* 3. 3 'iuuenem mucrone destricto passim caedibus operantem' and Iulius Obsequens *de prodigiis* 72 'pestilentia fameque ita laboratum ut ex Sibyllinis populus circum compita sacellaque operaturus sederit' which is as faulty by the classical standard as *it... operatum* (supra). As however in 71 'tres mulieres quae operatae sedebant' Obsequens has the classical usage of Livy, his source, it may be that we should read *operatus* for *operaturus* (and so Jahn and Weissenborn). Add Macrobius *Sat.* III 12 § 4 'e monte ergo proximo decerpta sumebatur laurus operantibus' *ib.* § 7 'est praeterea Octauii Hersinni

liber qui inscribitur de sacris Saliaribus Tiburtium in quo Salios Herculi institutos operari diebus certis et auspicato docet.' It is hardly credible that Macrobius is quoting exactly from Octavius, of whom we know nothing, but who was most probably a writer of the first century B.C.

It seems probable that *operatus* had originally nothing to do with a verb *operari* but was an adjectival formation from *opera* like *mor-atus* from *mos*, *dotatus* from *dos* and others, and that it means 'full of *opera*' *for* 'giving oneself up' *to*, 'absorbed' *in*, 'with one's whole energies', in some work; and that if *operari* is not an ancient word for 'labouring,' it is most probably a later developement out of the verbal force which *operatus* would gather in course of time. Such developements are not unknown; *armo* is later than *armatus*, *auro* and *inauro* than *auratus* and *inauratus* and *doto* than *dotatus*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

VOL. XXV. No. 49.

# The Journal

OF

# PHILOLOGY.

*EDITED BY*

W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.

AND

HENRY JACKSON, LITT. D.

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Cambridge: MACMILLAN AND BOWES;

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.

1897

*Price 4s. 6d.*

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